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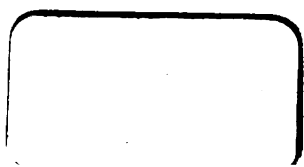
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BOOK III.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS IX—XII.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs. 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

Opinion of Professor Max Müller, Oxford, 9th February, 1892.

* * * From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Pāṇini's Sūtras and the Commentaries. * * * I hope you may succeed in finishing your work.

Opinion of Professor Gopalji S. Desai, Rajkot in Kathiawar, 20th February, 1892.

* * * The first part that has already been out before the Public shows clearly that the author has spared no pains to make the translation as exact and pithy as possible. The work when completed will no doubt claim a high place amongst the best works by European scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book are excellent.

Opinion of Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.

* * * Nothing could have been more gratifying to me, no doubt, than to get hold of a trustworthy translation of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, the standard work of Sanskrit literature, and I shall gladly do my best to make this valuable work known to lovers and students of the immortal literature of ancient India in this country.

Opinion of Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, U. S. A., 17th June, 1893.

* * * The work seems to me to be very well planned and executed, doing credit to the translator and publisher. It is also, in my opinion, very valuable undertaking, as it does to give the European student of the native grammar more help than he can find anywhere else. It ought to have a good sale in Europe (and correspondingly in America).

Opinion of Professor V. Fausbøll, Copenhagen, 15th June, 1893.

* * * It appears to me to be a splendid production of Indian industry and scholarship, and I value it particularly on account of the extracts from the Kāśika.

Opinion of Professor Dr. R. Pischel, Halle (Saale), 27th May, 1893.

* * * I have gone through it and find it an extremely valuable and useful book, all the more so, as there are very few Sanskrit scholars in Europe who understand Pāṇini. * * *

*Opinion of Pandit Lalchandrajī Vidyabhaskar, M.R.A.S. (London),
Guru to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.*

स्वस्तीधरे हितपुरे हितरे प्रयागे सत्संगमप्रणयसंमतिरे बुधानां ।

विद्याविनोदवरिवर्द्धितबुधसुधारान् वास्वन्वबाञ्छिराचन्द्रविश्वरिष्टान् ॥ १ ॥

इडातिमोदमुहिरोहमुदयशक्तौ सच्छलसोधितसुखास्पदबोधभाजः ।

सम्यक्लसंतु मन्त्रोन्नितराम्मदीयाः यद्वाबहुककविकर्मरतांतरेभ्यः ॥ २ ॥

वृद्वाद्भूतं विमलबोधनबोधराशिं सद्भाकृतिप्रयितकीर्त्तिकेप्रशंस्यं ।

यच्छूरीमदीयमतिमोदवहं वरेण्यं सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥

विजयवस्ति भवतेग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।

लोकसुचिन्तरचनाभरणैकशीला भिन्नेचचिन्मनसः प्रतिबिम्बमाने ॥ ४ ॥

सस्तेग्लिशप्रकटितवरसुनर्वत्सो संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुरुकल्पसाक्षिं ।

स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्तविद्वत्तिवयं यद्वासुनासुविहितोग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥



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PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT
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OPINIONS (continued.)

येन स्वभा मुनिमतावुतशास्त्रसंवाग् निर्मलसोधरसवकमहतादरेण ।
संगुम्कतं सरजसंस्कृतसाध्वसारं धन्यं वदाम्बहमलं भवतोहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्वयरप्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्वे याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमवविहन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं ज्ञानसुखंगुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविशाम्बरतवास्तुमत्वे जयोया यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभूते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल वर्धभुजां समूहेज्ज्याशीर्विचो भवतु पंडित ज्ञानचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामहर्निशं श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (ज्ञानचंद्र) शर्मा
गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजेश्वर बोधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्व
राणां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.

* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability ; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.

* * * The translator has spared no pains in preparing a translation which may place Pāṇini's celebrated work within the comprehension of people not deeply read in Sanskrit. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book before us are admirable, and considering the size of the book (it is estimated to extend to 2000 pages) the price appears to be extremely moderate.

The Amrita Basar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.

* * * Judging from the first part before us, we must say that Babu Sris Chandra has succeeded well in the difficult work of translation, which seems to us to be at once lucid, full and exact. It is no exaggeration to say that Babu Sris Chandra's translation, when completed, will claim a prominent place among similar works by European Sanskrit Scholars.

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.

* * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable painstaking on the part of the translator.

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.

* * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon. * * * His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.

* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake the work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.

* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly

OPINIONS (continued.)

recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

* * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language.

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur), February, 1892.

* * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

* * * The translator has done his work conscientiously and faithfully. The translation of such a work into English, therefore, cannot but be a great boon to all students of the science of language and of Sanskrit literature in special. The translator deserves the help of the Government and the Chiefs of India.

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.

* * * If we may judge from the first part which lies before us, it will prove a very valuable help to the student of Pāṇini. * * So far as it goes it is creditably performed, and therefore deserves patronage from all students of Sanskrit and the Education Department.

The Arya Siddhanta (Allahabad), 15th November, 1891.

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुक्त वा० श्रीशचन्द्र वसु वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छपाते हैं। वास्तवमें यह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति का इस लिये है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में थोड़ा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी अच्छी जानते होंगे वे सङ्ग में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अच्छे प्रकार अभ्यास करा सकेंगे। ज्यों २ हमारे प्रचलित पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद होता जायगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उन्नति जानिये। वद्यपि मैं इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण दीर्घों को ठीक २ नहीं जान सकता तथापि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूत्र, दूसरे उस के पदच्छेद तृतीय संस्कृत में सूत्र की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के आगे अङ्गरेजी में सूत्र का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा, तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अन्वय पाए के जो २ सूत्र लगते हैं उन के पते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रत्युदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूत्रपर जो कोई वार्तिक वा परिभाषा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमरीति से लिख किये हैं।

BOOK III.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghasipur.



Al l a h a b a d :

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1894.

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TO THE
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,
THIS WORK
IS,
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION
IN
THESE PROVINCES,
Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

A.B. Samra

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *vis.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *padas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office,
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

ओ३म्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

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प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते बानित कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्युपपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, सिञ्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, सकृत् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as वच् in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, वृत्ति and नाय are upapadas, वग् is an upādhi, the affix being हन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यत्, तव्य, भनीवद् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा चः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣhā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an-affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्तव्यम् and सैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति चः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣhā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udātta on the first भ, as in कर्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udatta on the final ; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicatory प are anudatta ; those having an indicatory ज्ञ, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory झ and ञ throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त्त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिटौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप् पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As हस्तौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudatta ; so also हृषः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudatta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाभ्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निवृत्तेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises' ; तितिक्षते 'he endures patiently' ; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects' ; तेजयति 'he sharpens' ; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-
बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, शान अवसण्डने, शान अवतोजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चकारस्य दीर्घादिभ्यो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवापि सन्नर्थविशेष इत्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', शन 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : मीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', दीर्घांसते 'he straightens', शीर्षांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति, बाधयति, शनयति and निशानयति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छावाच्यं वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासम्बन्धप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; विकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमिच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object' ? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनेच्छति ; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकाद् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished' ? Observe ईषदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति ; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं ; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing' ? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make' ; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or विकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतिष्यति कूलम् = पिपतिष्यति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तारिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि भान्ताद्यव्यतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छम्सि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + च = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udatta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in न् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्येति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा इवा वृक्षा भवायवी विद्म. Here भवावु (pl. भवायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7 ; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यञ्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛtti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply ; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणञ्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीवति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Vart : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीवति कुड्म्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्श्वीवति मञ्चके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead ; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, स-लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽत्रगल्भङ्गीवहोऽऽचः क्तिन्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (इयेन + य = इयेना + य = इयेनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words भोजस् — भोजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस—सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1. 52.

Vart :—After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होद्, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होद्ते or होदायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of kyañ.

Vart :—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्भति or गर्भायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यध्वेलोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः,
भुधि, अध्वेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽध्वन्तेभ्यो भुधि भरत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अध्वेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix ई', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्चि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix *चि*, will not again take *क्यङ्* in that very sense. The repetition of *चि* here shows that the words *भृश्* &c. never take the affix *चि*, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains *चि*.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द, क्षपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शश्वत्, बहस्, वेहस्, नृपत्, शुधि, अधर, भोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोहत, इन्, शुचिस्, भरजस्) ।

लोहितादिहाजभ्यः क्यप् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-
हाजभ्यः, क्यप्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो हाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्ययं क्यप् मत्वयो भवति ॥

13. The affix *क्यप्* in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words *लोहित*, &c. and after those that end with the affix *हाज्* (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix *चि* (V. 4. 50).

Thus *लोहितायते* or *लोहितायति* 'he becomes red'; *पटपटायते* or *पटपटायति* 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (*लोहित* + य=लोहिता + ङ=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word *पटपटायते* is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word *पट* which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *ādi*, as *लोहितादिभ्यः क्यप्*; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than *भृशादि* which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the *ङित्* affix *क्यङ्*, while *क्यप्* is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus *वर्णायति* or *वर्णायते*, *निद्रायति* or *निद्रायते*, *करुणायति* or *करुणायते*, *कृपायति* or *कृपायते*. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; *लोहित*, *नील*, *हरित*, *पीत*, *मत्त*, *केन* and *मन्द*.

The indicative *क* in *क्यप्* is not for the sake of prohibiting *guṇa* and *vriiddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guṇa* or *vriiddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sāravadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix *क्यप्* is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guṇa* &c. The *क* is for the sake of grouping *क्यङ्*, *क्यङ्* and *क्यप्* in one class as *क्य*; as in sūtra नः क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in *न* among those enumerated above.

The affix **डाच्** (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three **अस्, भू, or कृ**; as **पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्**. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when **क्यङ्** follows **डाच्**, the above restriction, that the verb should be **कृ, भू or अस्**, is not applicable. Here **डाच्** comes without the addition of **कृ, भू or अस्ति**.

The anuvṛitti of **अच्वे**: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix **क्यङ्** is added in the sense of **अभूततद्भाव इ. e. something becoming that which it was not before**.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमण्येऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तकटकमकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कएवधिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix **क्यङ्**, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word **कष्ट** 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, **कष्टाय क्रमणे क्रामति=कष्टायते** 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart:—The affix **क्यङ्** comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words **सप्त, कष्ट, कल, कृच्छ्र** and **गहन**; as, **सप्तायते, कष्टायते, कलायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते**.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as **भजः कष्टं क्रामति**.

कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्थत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दान्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो जयाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थकोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix **क्यङ्** is employed after the words, **रोमन्थ** 'ruminating' and **तपस** 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, **रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्थायते** **गोः** 'the cow ruminates.'

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, **कीटो रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति**.

Vart: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word **तपस्**; as **तपश्चरति=तपस्वति**, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोज्ज्वलान्मुहमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-उज्ज्वल्यां, उह्मने,
(कर्मेष्टः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दादुज्ज्वलशब्दाच्च कर्मण उह्मनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and उज्ज्वल 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उज्ज्वायते 'it sends out heat'. So also केनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहासकवमेचेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अस-कव-मेचेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्योश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अटाट्टाशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकटामहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz :—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart.—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart.—So also should be included the words अटा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कट्टा ; as अटायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कट्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मेष्टः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्तृभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चे-
त्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure' ; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent' ? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master ; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, वृत्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, भस्, भलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ ।

नमोवरिवश्चित्रकः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रकः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz :— नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods' ; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders' ; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

पुच्छभाण्डचीवरश्चिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, चिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डास्तमाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz :—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap' ; संचीवरयते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ्, the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The इ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Vart :—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart:—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्,
(करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk'; वृषजान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलं गृह्णाति = हल-यति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix णिच् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सन्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are भजहलत् and भजकलत्; and not भजहलत् and भजकलत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्तूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकञ्चो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे यत्तरे तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, योनःपुञ्जं भूयार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

चार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूचिद्वयत्वेष्टौतीनां मह्यं बह् विधावनेकाजहलाद्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix बह्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As वच् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जास्वच्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राद् 'to go', (because the root भद् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix बह् comes after सूचि, सूचि, मूचि, भट्, भर्त्ति, भ्रा and भर्त्ति, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, मोमूच्यते, भट्टच्यते, भर्त्तयते, भ्राच्यते, and प्रीष्टिच्यते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृशं शोभते or भृशं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोच्यते and शोच्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is क्ति.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गती ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गती,

(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्भातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं बह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix बह् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रम्वते 'he moves crookedly'. So also हन्म्वते. After a verb of motion, the बह् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e. बह् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृस्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृस्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां भावार्थगर्हायां बह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix बह् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाक्) comes always after the following roots, viz:—कृप् 'to cut off', सृप् 'to sit', चर 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', बह् 'to burn', बध् 'to bite' and गृ 'to swallow'.

Thus लोळुप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंचूयते 'he walks badly'; जंजप्यते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजद्यते, दन्द्द्यते, दन्द्ध्यते, निजगिह्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुप्यति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालीमत्वचवर्मेवर्षचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लीम-
त्वच-वर्मे-वर्ष-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थे वेदसत्यानामापुर्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लीम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्मे 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाद्यति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकायति 'he praises in verse'; अभिसेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलीमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मेयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupāṭha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच् ; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आपुक् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + भति = अर्थापि + भति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i. e. of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after तूल, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम, of 'taking' after स्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्ध and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणाद्विलक्षणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन् अभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रवत्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तथाचष्ट इति णिच् कृत् कृत् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आह्नोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्द्याशयाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिन्नीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे ति ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कटं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra'. So also मूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधमाचष्टे = कंसं पातयति; बलिवन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिदिवसं आचष्टे = रात्रिं दिवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix णिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण योजयति. So also मघाभिर्योजयति.

कण्डूवादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूम् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डू 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डू &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्डूवादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, हृणीम्, बल्गु, भल्ल, मनस्, महीरु, लेद, लोद, इरस्, इरज्, इरम्, हुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, भर, भिषज्, भिष्यज्, इषुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, कुरण, गङ्गर्, ऐला, कोला, खेला, लिद् and लोद् ।

गुपूधूपविच्छिपक्षिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पक्षि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतो, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, पन च, इत्येतैर्भ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुपू 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as सतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्धृणायां वर्त्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root कृति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory कृ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as कृतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, कृतीयाते, कृतीयन्ते.

कमेर्धिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, धिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्धिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम् 'to desire'.

The ण indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and कृ shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविशेषावामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोमा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or कृतीयिता ; कमिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhadhātuka क्तिङ् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhadhātuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus वृत्तिः or गोपावा.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus विक्रीषा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृकपमुस्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्बधासंख्य
स्वतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृट् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति भकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The ट् of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिद्धुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययौ भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति दिद्युत् उदधिं ज्यादयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वक्षति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्,
आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्द कुत्साद्यां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तोऽयम् धातुश्च आम् प्रत्ययौ भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्त्वनेकाच् इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुप्याद्यर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or भव् or कृ is added. As कासाचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरचामास 'he stole'. So also लोज्ज्वाचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोना Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्पाञ्चकार, हरिद्राञ्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicative.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्वो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधौ वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहाञ्चक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनृच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णनाच 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्ह, Perfect आनर्ह (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe इच्छ, Perf. उवोच्छ (VI. 4. 78) ऊल्लुः, ऊल्लुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुरु, Perf. चुकुरु; पूर, Perf. सुपूर.

दयायाञ्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय दानगतिरक्षणे, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायाञ्चक्रे 'he ran away'; आसाञ्चक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाह, विद् ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यानाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz :—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उषोष, विदाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद् as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ह्री-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ह्री लज्जायाम्, डुभृम् धारणपोषणयोः, हु शानाशनयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, प्रलाविष चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ह्री 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to Hivâdi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभवाञ्चकार or विभाय, जिह्वाञ्चकार or जिह्वय, विभराञ्चकार or बभार, जुह्वाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कृष्णानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृष्णानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञिति प्रत्याहारेण कृञ्प्रत्ययो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूभावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ārdhadhātuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् निपादयते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद् 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by लृक्; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विशन्, we annex to it the क्त of the verb क् ; thus we have विशाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विशन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विशाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विशाङ्कुरुतु विशाङ्कुरुताम् &c.

अभ्युत्साद्यां प्रजनयां चिकयां रमयामकः पावयां क्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्साद्याम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयां क्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्साद्यामित्येवमाहवः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमया-
मकः पावयां क्रियाद् विशामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लृट्) of the
causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रन् 'to sport':
to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to
collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of
च into क of the root. The auxiliary भक् is added to all these four. The
fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative
affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (लिट्)
and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रिवात्. The last is the
Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary भक्त् is em-
ployed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :—
अभ्युत्सीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

ञि लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञि, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ञि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix ञि is added
to the verbal root.

The इ of ञि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake
of accent (VI. I, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has
udatta on its final. Then remains only ञि, which after all, is to be replaced by
other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact ञि is the common name for all
Aorist affixes.

ञे सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ स्युशमुशकुपदपदृषी सिञ्चा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्लि, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च् is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकृषीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.			
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	द्व	स्म		सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, तं	स्त, त		स्याः, याः	सायां	ध्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः		स्त, त	सातां	सत

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', मृश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', हृष् 'to become satisfied', and हृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्प्राक्षीत्, अस्पाक्षीत् or अस्पृक्षत्. Similarly मृश् has अम्राक्षीत्, अमाक्षीत् or अमृक्षत्; कृष्, अकृषीत्, अक्राक्षीत् or अकृक्षत्; हृष्, अताप्सीत्, अभाप्सीत्, or अहृषत्; हृष्, अह्राप्सीत्, अहाप्सीत् or अहृषत्.

श्ल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, कसः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्व च्लेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a श्ल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of च्लि.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follow:

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.			
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	सिध्व	साम्		सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers.	सः	सत	सत		स्याः, याः	सायाम्	सध्वन्, ध्वन्
3rd pers.	सत्	सतां	सन्		सत, त	सातां	सन्त

As, मृग् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अमृक्कसत् and अकृक्कसत्; so दुह् 'to milk' forms अधुक्कसत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिक्कसत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अभ्रैस्सीत्, अच्लैस्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or ॠ'? Observe अभाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकोषीत् and अमोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिंगने, (च्लेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्धातोराणिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्व च्लेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of च्लि after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिषत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जलुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, वसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्तादेशो न भवति ॥

47. वस is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining वस. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and सिच्; as अवर्षत् or अवर्षात् 'he saw'.

चिन्निदुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि-चि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः भिदुस्तुभ्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चढादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb चि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and नृ 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vridhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिञ्चयत् 'he served or went'; अदुदुवत् 'he ran'; असुलुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vartika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा धेट्-ह्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-ह्योः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, दुभोश्च गतिद्वयोः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चढादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धे 'to suck', and रिच 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, **अश्वत्**, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative **सिच्**, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have **अधात्** and **अधासीत्** 'he sucked'. So also of **वृध्**, we have **अशिवयत्** 'he grew'. It also takes the **भङ्**, (III. 1. 58) and then its form is **अश्वत्** or **अश्वयीत्**.

गुपेऽछन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्व छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb **गुप्** 'to protect', **चङ्** is optionally the substitute of **च्लि** in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root **गुप्** does not take the affix **भाक्** (II. 1. 28). As **इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृहान् अजुगुपतम्** 'Mitra Varuna protected these our houses'. The other forms are **अगोप्यत्**, **अगोपिष्यत्** or **अगोपायिष्यत्**. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नानयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ वाचने च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेषु छन्दसि प्राप्तं छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs **ऊन** 'to decrease', **ध्वन** 'to sound', **इल** 'to send', and **अर्द** 'to go or to beg', **चङ्** is not the substitute of **च्लि** in the Chhandas.

Thus we have **ऊनयीः** in the Vedas ; **भौनिनत्** in the classical literature ; so also **ध्वनयीत्**, **ऐलयीः** and **अर्दयीत्** ; their classical forms being **अदिध्वनत्**, **ऐलिलत्**, and **आर्दिषत्**. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वक् परिभाषणे, ब्रूयादेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, वक्तिङादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्व छन्ददेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs **अस्** 'to throw', **वच्** 'to speak', and **ख्या** 'to speak', **अङ्** is the substitute of **च्लि**, when **लुङ्** follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of **ब्रू** (II. 4. 53) and so also **ख्या** may be the root, or the substitute of **वच्** (II. 4. 54). The root **अस्** belonging to the द्विवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision **पुषादि**, and therefore it would have taken **अङ्** in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes भङ् in the Atamanepada also ; as पर्वोच्यत (VII. 4. 17), भवोचत् and भाव्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्वोचिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपवेदे, सिच चरणे, ह्व स्पर्द्धां एतेभ्यश्च परस्व, च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call', भङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus भलिपत् 'he painted or wrote' ; भसिचत् 'he sprinkled' ; and भाहत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेरङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, भङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus भलिपत् or भलिप्यत् 'he painted' ; भसिचत् or भसिक्त 'he sprinkled' ; भाहत् or भाहारत् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृङ्-इत्, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृङिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्व च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो भङादेशो भवति ॥

55. भङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, युज् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicative लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs ; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished' ; युज्, अयुजत् 'he shone' ; गच्छ्, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada ; as कृद्योतिष्ट, भजोतिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्तिर्त्तिस्म्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिस्म्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ गतो, शास् अनुशिष्टो, कृ गतो, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ रु रुहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेः छान्वसि विषये ऽङ्गारेणो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', रु 'to tear', and रुहि 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अरुत् 'he tore'; अरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षत्, अमृत, अरारीत्, and अरुक्षत्.

चिष् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिष्, ते, पदः, (छे :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद् गतो भस्माद्भातोः परस्य च्लेचिणारेणो भवति तशब्दे परतः ॥

60. चिष् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपादि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपस्तत् 'they went'; अद् + पद् + चिष् + त = अ + पाद् + इ = अपादि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (छेः, चिष्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तशब्दे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणारेणो भवति ॥

61. चिष् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध 'to teach or know', पूर 'to be full', ताव 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिट् 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट् 'he was produced'; अशोधि or अशुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट् 'he was full'; अतावि or अताविट् 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिट् 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मेकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्मे-कर्त्तरि, (छेः, ते, चिष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्भातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मेकर्त्तरि तशब्दे परतश्चिणारेणो भवति ॥

62. चिष् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिष् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as भकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also भकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भजावि or भजविट केशरः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.* in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflexive voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काटम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as भकारि कटो र्ववत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेश्चिण्णदेशो भवति भन्वतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when च follows.

Thus भरोहि or भदुग्ध गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, *e. g.* भरोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् भावरणे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेः कर्मकर्तरि चिण्णदेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि, after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus भन्ववारुध गो स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.* भन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्येः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, भस्मात्परस्व च्लेश्चिण्णदेशो न भवति कर्मकर्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; भन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मयोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मयोः, (ह्येः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेभिः शो भवति भावे कर्मणि तृशब्दः परतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of चिन् when न of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally ; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As भगवि भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; भकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs ; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क् of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridhhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory च makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+भ+ति=भो+भ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न् of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix ; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka ; as दिव्+श्यन्, +

तिप् = शीप् + च + ति (VII. 2. 77) = शीच्यति ; so also सीच्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्रमु त्रसि त्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्रम् 'to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut', and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्वति or त्रसति ; त्रुटयति or त्रुटति ; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्,
वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्वति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्वति, प्रयस्वति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्वति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके,
कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुम् अनिषवे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As, सु+इनु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः इनुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्यवभाषेणो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix इनु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+इनु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणोति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षीऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्ष इत्याशौ भोवादिक् अस्मान्न्यतरस्यां इनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, इनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनू स्वङ्ग तनूकरणे, अस्मान्ननूकरणे वर्त्तमानान्न्यतरस्यां इनु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्ययने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः इनम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, इनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो इनम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix इनम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi-class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिन,ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकृञ्म्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कृञ्म्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तन् विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञ्म्य उपस्यबो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and भकृत्याः; the सिन्धु elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विकृद्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-कृद्योः, अ, च,

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि मीणनाथोः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्धातुभ्योरुपस्यबो भवत्यकारश्चात्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृण्व 'to hurt', when a sârva-dhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्व or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्व + उ+ति = धिन्+अ+ उ +ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârva-dhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânavat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्रयादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीम् इत्यदिनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नामस्यबो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Krywâdi class when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति) instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुष्मस्य भाण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते = मृ + शप् + ते) instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोट् of the root नो 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = (नो + शप् + तु); इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेन वृषम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेन (हृ + उ + सिप् + शप् + अन्) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root हृ, the classical form being तरेम or तीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्गाशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (बन्दि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvaadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs त्या, गा, गम्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपगोचम्; गमेन जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र बोधेनामये; विदेयमेना मनसि प्रवेष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छक्रेयम्; स्वर्गे लोकमारुह्यम्.

The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *gudā* by rule VII. 4. 16.; to prevent this, अङ् is ordained; as पितरं दृष्ट्वे मातरं 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मेवत्कर्मेणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेवत्, कर्मेणा, तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The *ञ* denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a *ञ* denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or *ञ*, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or *ञ* denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of *वक्* (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of *चिण्* for *चिञ्* (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus *विद्यते काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'; *अग्नेर्हि काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word *वत्* 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus *विद्यते कसुज्जेन*.

The word *कर्मणा* 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus *साधसिद्धिर्नसि* 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also *साधु स्यान्नी पचति* 'the pot cooks well'; here *स्यान्नी* is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhāva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्व कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्व कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb *तप्* 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word *तपस्* itself.

Thus *तप्यते तपस्तापसः* 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in *उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः* 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिद्यौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्नु-नमां, यक्-चिद्यौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह् स्नु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्भावापदिष्टौ न भवतः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ यक्चिणौः प्रतिषेधे णिअन्थिमन्थिमूमात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्नु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, अदुग्ध or अदोहि गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्नुते or प्रास्नोष्ट गोः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनस्त इण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्य 'to loosen', मन्य 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi. Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अभीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अधीते 'it loosens of itself'; अधिनष्ट 'it loosened of itself'; मधीते; अमधिनष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अबोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधित् माणवकः स्वयमेव.

कुचिरङ्गोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुचि-रङ्गोः,
प्राचान्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच निष्कर्षे, रङ्ग रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां नतेन इवन्, प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix इवन् comes after the roots कुच् 'to pull', and रङ्ग 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debar the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुचति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रङ्गति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुच्यते and रङ्ग्यते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ वृतीयाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्वदितं ऊर्ध्वमनुक-
मिष्यामी धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृष्य् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यस्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्दर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसमानरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवादो वा बाधको भवति रुचधिकार-
विहितप्रत्ययं दर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes **ञ्** and **ङ्** (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix **क्** after verbs having a penultimate **इक्** vowel, and the roots **हा**, **घी** and **कु** is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes **ञ्** and **ङ्** also. Thus **क्षिप्** is a root that has a penultimate **इ** belonging to the *pratyāhāra इक्*; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix **क्** will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus **क्षिप्+क्** = **क्षिप्+अ** = **क्षिपः**; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally **क्षिप्+ञ्** = **क्षिपेयकः**; and **क्षिप्+ङ्** = **क्षिपेयः** nom. sing. **क्षिपेयः**.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes **अण्** and **क्** are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* **अ**; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining **अण्** as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining **क्**, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long **आ**, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus **गो+दा+क्** = **गोदः** 'giver of cows'. So also **कम्बलङ्** 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix **अण्**.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (**असङ्ग**) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes **क्**, **अण्**, **अङ्**, **ए** &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining **क्लिप्** in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining **अ** after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though **अ** and **क्लि** are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots **चिकीर्षे** and **जिहीर्षे** will form feminine nouns in **आ** and not by **क्लिप्**. Thus **चिकीर्षा** and **जिहीर्षा** and not **चिकीर्षक्लि** &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्बुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, बुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्ङ्वाविति वृद्धयति प्रागतस्माण्वुल्ङ्गशब्दानामित कङ्क्षमनुकमिष्यामः
कृत्वसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्ङ्गौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यतव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यतव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केजिमर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र् indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 *ante* of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicative ए. The force of ए is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix केजिमर should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पक्षेलिमा माषाः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; निवेज्जिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i. e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्धातोर्बत्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तकिरासि चतिवतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix **यत्** comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter **त्** of this affix is indicative showing that the udatta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा + यत् = गेय, noun sing. गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and वा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्व, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ardhadhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus हिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be cut'; धिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लु before ardhadhātuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अ before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लय्. The root लय् however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as लय्यो, पण्यम्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs तव् 'to fly', शव् 'to leap', चव् 'to ask', यव् 'to attempt' and जव् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तवयम्, शवयम्, चवयम्, यवयम्, and जवयम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or वारयम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into व, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पीरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पीः, अद्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्ताद्धातोर्कारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

98. The affix **यत्** comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars ण्यत्; thus शप्+ञ्यत् = शप्ञ्य 'to be sworn'; जप्+ञ्यत् = जप्ञ्य 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take ण्यत्; thus कप्+ण्यत् = कप्ण्य 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्यन् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take ण्यत्; thus कृप्+ण्यत् = कृप्ण्य 'to be angry'; so also गोप्यन् 'to be concealed'.

The word अत् is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of त् here is, by I. I. 70, that short अ having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have ण्यत् and not अत्; thus आप्यन् 'to be reached' i. e. 'attainable'.

शकिसहोऽद्य ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्शक्तौ, सह मर्षणे, भगवोर्धात्वीर्बन्धत्त्वो भवति ॥

99. The affix अत् comes after the roots शक् 'to be able', and सह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यन् 'possible'; सह्यन् 'endurable'.

गदमदचरयमखानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मव चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेरादि चागुरौ ॥

100. The affix अत् comes after the roots गृ 'to speak', मव 'to be mad', चर 'to go, to eat', and यम 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus गद्यन् 'what is to be spoken, i. e. prose'; मद्यन् 'wine'; चर्चन् 'what is to be followed'; यम्यन् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take ण्यत्; thus प्रगाद्यन्; प्रमद्यन् &c.

The root अत् would have taken the affix अत् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in न and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb अत् will not take the affix अत्. Therefore with regard to अत्, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart :—The root चर when preceded by the preposition आच् takes the अत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्चो देशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes ण्यत्; thus आचर्चः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपवयवर्वा गह्येपक्षितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

अवद्य-पवय-वर्वाः, गह्ये-पक्षितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पणव वर्वा इत्येते घञ्वा निपातवन्ते गह्यं पक्षितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वयं वृत्तिः ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पणव and वर्वा are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पणं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix वृत् to the root वृ by III. 1. 106. So also पणवः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पण्वाः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाणवम्, formed by the addition of वृत्. So also शतेन वर्वा 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्वा 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्वा from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्वा means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्वा in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्वो ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करवम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करवम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह्येर्भातोः करवो वत्प्रत्ययो निपातवते ॥

102. The word वह्य is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix वृत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिन्वैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामिन्-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतो, अस्मात्प्रवृत्तिः प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्वैश्ययोर्निधेयवोर्वात्प्रत्ययो निपातवते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वतो ऽनाद्य इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्वन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken वृत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes वत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix वत् makes the udatta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix वृत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmana'.

उपसर्वा कात्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्वा, कात्या,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्वेति निपात्यते कात्या चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्वा is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्वा is formed by adding चत् affix to the root च् 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word कात्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्वा गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्वा वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used; as उपसर्वा शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of चत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + चत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गी क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यश्च ॥

106. After the root वच् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix चत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + वच् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + वच् + च = ब्रह्मोद्यम्; ब्रह्म + वच् + चत् = ब्रह्मवचम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवचम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वच् + ञ्चत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाचम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix क्वप् and not by चत् or क्वप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, ((अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्वप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of चत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुवं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभुवं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take चत्; as भू + चत् = भो + चत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवचम्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्वप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्वप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + क्वप् = ब्रह्म + हन् + च = ब्रह्महन्त्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महन्त्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहन्त्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is चातः 'a blow' (हन् + क्षिप् + चम्). This verb does not take the affix क्वप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवातो वरुंसे 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वद्वजुषः क्वप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-व-द्व-जुषः, क्वप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् व द्व जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिबुहि गुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ् पूर्वार्द्धः संतावानुपसर्गवानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', हृ 'to respect' and शृप् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुप्, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ + क्यप् = इ + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुर्यः 'to be praised'; शास् + क्यप् = शिस् + य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ + क्यप् = वृष्यः 'to be chosen'; आहृ + क्यप् = आहृष्यः 'to be honoured'; शृप् + क्यप् = शृष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires क्यत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुर्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृश् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृद्ध. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या कृशिवजः.

Vart.—The roots शास् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शास्वन् or शंस्यन् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यन् or दौह्यन्, गृह्यन् or गोह्यन्.

Vart.—The verb अञ्ज 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आहृ takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अञ्ज + क्यप् = आञ्जन् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपेयन् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयन् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इष् of the Adādi class.

अदुपधाद्याकृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्-उपधात्, च, अकृपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिचृती वर्जचिश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणौ सृजेर्बहुक्तस्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short अ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत् 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत् + क्यप् = वृष्यन्; so also वृज्यन्. But कृप् and चृत् will form कल्प्यन्, and चर्यन्.

Why have we used the letter त् in चरत्? It is to indicate that short अ

is meant and not long कृ (I. I. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take ण्वत् and form कीर्यम्.

Vart :—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्वत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्गा रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart :—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and भव takes ण्वत् as सम्भवसर्गा.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारधान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + च = खेचम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the भ of खन् would have been lengthened into भा before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृज Pl. भृजाः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe शृ + ण्वत् = शार्वः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृज्वाः or संभार्जाः.

सृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root सृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root सृज् having a penultimate कृ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिशुद्धः or परिशार्जः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिशुज् + ण्वत् (III. I. 124) = परिशुज् + च (VII. 3. 52) = परिशार्ज (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यसृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्यअव्ययः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥

राजसूय-सूर्य-सृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्ययः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यय इत्येते शब्दाः क्यप् निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यय are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राजा सोतव्यः or राजा इह सूयते, राज + सू + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly सूर्य or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky ; or that which impels (सुवृत्ति) creation to action. सृष + वृ + क्यप् = सृषोद्यम् 'false speech' ; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)' ; the other form is गोप्यम् । कृष्ट + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्ययते = अव्ययः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्भूयो नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्भूयो, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेरुद्भूयो क्यप् निपात्यते नदे ऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्भूय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

ऊर्ध्व + क्यप् = उद्भूय 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river ; the ह्य is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used ; thus भेत्ता and उज्झिता.

पुष्यसिद्धयो नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धयो, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेर्नाधिकरणे क्यप् निपात्यते नक्षत्रे ऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध् + क्यप् = सिद्धयः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण 'nourishing', सिधनम् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्वा मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-
विनीय-जित्वाः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्वा इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते वयासंस्कृतं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
त्वयेषु बोधेषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्वा are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि + पू + क्वप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि + नी + क्वप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि + क्वप् = जित्वा 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपाय्वम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेऽकन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, कन्दसि, (क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति उन्वसि विपत्ते ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्वप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मात्तापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

पदास्त्वैरिवाह्यापत्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्वैरि-
वाह्या-पत्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्वप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्त्वैरिणि वाह्यानां पत्ये चायं ग्रहेर्भातोः क्वप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्वप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अवगृह्यम्.

The word अस्त्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामगृह्य सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पक्ष is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा रुदृषीः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, रु-वृषीः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृमो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृम् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix क्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ + क्यप् = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ + क्यत् = कृत्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वृष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गो 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज् + क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज् is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अनावस्यदन्यतरस्यान् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्यान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनाशब्दः सहाय्यं वर्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेद्वातोः कालोऽधिकरणे एवमप्रत्ययो भवति तत्रान्यतरस्यान् वृद्धभाषो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अनावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अना means 'along' or 'together'. अना in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix क्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridhhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अनावस्या or अनावस्या.

The final त् in अनावस्या is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अनावस्या or अनावस्या are the same word, and a *fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a *paribhāṣā* which declares एकदेशविकृतत्वागन्त्यम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अनावस्याया वा is made applicable to the form अनावस्या also,

छन्दसि निष्ठकर्मदेवहूयप्रणीयोऽन्नीयोऽच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्योऽध्वर्ये खन्य-
खान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृष्ठानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्ठकर्म-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्यो-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृष्ठानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्मदेवः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठकर्म, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्यो, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृष्ठ.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठकर्म is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निष्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्वप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+हृक्+ञ (the root कृत् transformed into हृक् by transposition) = निष्ठकर्म. As निष्ठकर्म चिन्वीत् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke', the affix क्वप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हू or हू+क्वप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्वप् = प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्वप् = उन्नीयः; उत्+शिप् (to leave)+क्वप् = उच्छिष्यम्; मृ (to die)+ञत् = मर्यः; ऋ (to cover)+ञत् = स्तर्वा; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend)+ञत् = ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+ञत् = खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत् = खान्यः; देव (God)+ञत् (to sacrifice)+ञत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ (to ask)+क्वप् = आपृच्छः; प्रति+सीव (to sew)+क्वप् = प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण्य+वत् (to speak)+ण्यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत् = स्ताव्यः; उप+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृष्ठ = उपचार्यपृष्ठम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृष्ठ follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचार्यपृष्ठम् ।

ऋहलोऽण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हन्ताच्च ण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ + ण्यत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ + ण्यत् =

हार्यं nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ + ण्यत् = धार्यं; 'to be held'; दृश् + ण्यत् = दृश्यं + ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पश् + ण्यत् = पाक्यम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (वयत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके षोडशे ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter ङ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix वत्. Thus लु + ण्यत् = लौ + व = लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु + ण्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्यं 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpuruṣa* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमञ्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-
-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (वयत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वकं सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्राग्वयो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', चप् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sūtra debars वत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु + ण्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also वाव्यम्, शप्यम्, राप्यम्, लाप्यम्, ज्ञाप्यम् and आचाम्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम् + ण्यत् = शम्यम् ॥

आनाग्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाग्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाग्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽनित्ये. नयते राङ् पूर्वाण्यहावादेशो निपात्यते ॥

127. The word **आनाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—**आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + नै + य = आनाय्य**, (the ऐ being changed into आङ् by the analogy of VI. I. 79).

As **आनाय्यो दक्षिणामिः**. This is a species of Dakṣiṇāgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called *ānāyya*. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakṣiṇāgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakṣiṇāgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakṣiṇāgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gārhapatya fire, it is *ānāyya* Dakṣiṇāgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called *ānāyya*; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is **आनेय** meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मत्तौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मत्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमत्तावभिधेये ॥

128. The word **प्रणाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word **असंमत्ति** is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus **प्रणाय्यश्चोरः** 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is **प्र + नी** 'to lead' + **यत् = प्रणेयः** 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is **असंमत्ति** which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word **संमत्ति** also means **अभिज्ञाप्त** or 'desire'; and **असंमत्ति** would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word **असंमत्ति** means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence:—

उद्येष्टाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रमूढात्, प्रणाय्याय भन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनार्यनिकाय्याया मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥

१२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनार्य-निकाय्य-आय्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामिधेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यायः शब्दो निपात्यते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्याः त्रिभिः शब्दान् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, सान्नाय्य, निकाय्य and धाव्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure) + ण्यत् = पाय्यम्, the म being changed into ण and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा + ण्यत् = मे + य VI. 4. 65 = मेय). सन् + णि (to lead) + ण्यत् = सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयम्। नि + चि (to collect) + ण्यत् = नि + चै + य = नि + चाय + य = निकाय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचैय। धा (to put) + ण्यत् = धाव्या (fem.). The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

ऋतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचारयौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-संचारयौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाय्य संचाय्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते ऋतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचाय्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + यत् = कुण्ड + पा + य + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सन् + चि (to collect) + ण्यत् = संचाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचार्योपचार्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचार्य-उपचार्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + चि + ण्यत् = परि + चै + य = परि + चाय + य = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आय by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सन् + वह + ण्यत् = सन् + कृ + य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिचैयम् 'to be heaped', उपचैयम् 'to be increased', संचाय्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्पाग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्य: comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्य means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *uddīta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेत्यम् 'to be gathered'.

पुल्लुचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुल्ल-लुचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो पुल्लुचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes पुल्ल् (अक) and लुच् (ह) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + पुल्ल् = कार + लु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + लुच् = कर् + लु (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and इर्ता.

The च् of लुच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from लुह्; the simple लु includes both लुच् and लुह्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युङिन्त्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, ङिनि, अच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निभ्योऽणोभ्यस्तत्र प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्यादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो ङिनिः, पचादिभ्यो अच् ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द् 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) ङिनि (इन्) and अच् (अ) respectively.

The word *Adi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द् class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix ङिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द + ल्यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मदि—मदनः ; वृषि—वृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शीभि—शीभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; इमि—इमनः ;

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, र्षणः, संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभाषणः, लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The महादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—मह्—महिन् nom. माही ; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उहस्—उहासिन् ; उद्धास्—उद्धासिन् ; स्था—स्थासिन् ; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्ह—संमर्हिन्. So also the verbs-रक्ष, भु, वस्, वप् and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निभ्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याह, संव्याह, व्रज, वह and वस take एिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अवाविन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशायिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन् अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वह, चल, तप, पत नद्, भषद्, वस् गरद् भवद्, तरद्, चौरद्, माहद्, जर, मर, क्षर, क्षम, सृष्ट्, देवद्, मोरद् सेव, मेघ, क्रोध, व्रण, वंश, वश, वम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कीच, क्षप, मह, रज, क्षीषद्, चरद् ।

The द् in नद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अङ्गिधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पचादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधञ्जाप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ञ्जा-प्री-किरः,

कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरतेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (भ).

Thus विलिप्+क=विलिप nom. sing. विलिपः. So also विलिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क=ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क=

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कू + क = कि + भ (VII. I. 100) = किर + भ (I. I. 51) = किरः
'who scatters' &c. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पञ्चादि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. I. 40, and debars the affix ण. Thus प्रस्था + क = प्रस्थ + भ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुस्ने + क = सुस्न + भ = सुस्नः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. I. 45.) सुस्ने + क = सुस्ना + भ = सुस्नः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ.

पाप्राप्ता धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-प्रा-प्ता-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघ्रसेः संज्ञाया प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (भ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्वा 'to blow', धेद् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + श = उत् + पिच् + भ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिच nom. sing. उत्पिचः ; so also विपिचः ; उज्जिघ्रः and विजिघ्रः । उत् + ध्वा + श = उत् + धम् + भ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उद्धमः ; विधमः ; उत् + धे + श = उद्धयः ; विधयः ; so also उत् + दृश् + श = उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श्, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being भ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārvaadhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि + भा + घ्रा + क = व्याघ्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श्.

अनुपसर्गास्त्रिपविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिस्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिप्-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिस्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गंभ्यो लिप्पादिभ्यः शप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिप्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्रादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिप्, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिप्: 'smearing'; विन्द: 'acquiring'; धारय: 'holding'; पारय: 'ferrying'; वेदय: 'knowing'; उदेजय: 'shaking'; चेतय: 'perceiving'; सातय:, and साहय: .

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिषः ; here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिप्सा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्द: 'Kṛishṇa' (protector of cows); भद्रविन्द: 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाम्नो धाम्नश्च विभाषा शप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debar ए. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उज्जलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उज्जल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः,
णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्जलीताविर्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगताविर्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनीतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उज्ज 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed,

The word इति in इवञिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhuddi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the *Dhātupātha*, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to *Sidhānta Kaumudī*.

This debars the affix अच् ; as इवान् : or इवन् : ; चान् : or चन् :.

The affix ण (भ) having an indicatory ण् causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate भ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच् ; as प्रइवन् : 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन् 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ण ; as भवतान्. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्यधामुसंस्तृतीयवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीप्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (चः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयैर् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीप् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also :—इयै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीप् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root इयै, before affixes, becomes इया, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क् when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', दायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्याधः 'pain', आस्तनः 'wound', संस्तनः 'flow', अतयायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेनैयतेभ्यानुपसर्गे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus हु+ण=हो+भ (VII. 2. 115) = हावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी+ण=नी+भ=नायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रहवः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (खः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतंश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix भञ्. Thus ग्रह्+ण = ग्रह्+भ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह्+भञ् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह्+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहन् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिस्त्रिनिरस्त्रिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (भक्) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज् 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+ष्वुन् = नर्त्त+भक् (VII. 1. 1) = नर्त्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory व् form their feminine gender by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रञ्ज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृन् and खन्. According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix कुन्. Thus रञ्ज + कुन् = रज् + वु (VI. 4. 37) = रज् + भक (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजिका.

गयकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेत्यकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गे to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

व्युट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्युट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते व्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix व्युट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word ग of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + व्युट् = गा + भन (VII. 1. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गयकन् and व्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of व्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हृश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (व्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मतेजिहीतेष्व धातोर्व्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहि काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb ह, also the affix व्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb ह denotes two verbs हृक् 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + व्युट् = हावनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हावनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udAtta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

प्रुच्छ (सु)स्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रु-च्छ-(सु)-स्वः,
समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रु छ (सु) लृ इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्रु 'to go', सु 'to move', लृ 'to flow' and लृ 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्रु + वुन् = प्री + भक् (VII. I. 1) = प्रवक् ; so also, सरक्., सवक्., and जवक्..

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवक् : 'may he live' ; नन्दक् : 'may he be happy'.

The word आशिषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

औ३न्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभक्ष्य/चरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षितमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here वृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डलावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart.—The affix ण comes after the verbs शील, काम्, भक्ष्य and आचर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ।

Vart:—The affix क् comes after the roots ईक्ष् 'to look' and क्षम् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा 'expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा 'much forbearing'.

हावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, मः, च, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्, वेम्, माह्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह् 'to call', वेम् 'to weave', माह् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क् (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं + ह् + अण् = स्वर्गं + हा + अ = स्वर्गं + हाय + अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गं हायः (the च is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicative ण् or म follows, the augment च is added after the verbs that end in long अ'). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गः कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गः, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क् comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण् ; as गां + दा + क् = गां + द + अ = गोदः 'Giver of cows', (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64.) = So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket'; पाण्डिणम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलिभम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', वडवसंदाय 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क् comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = समे तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

- (1) सुप्ति ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पिबति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
 (2) सुप्तिस्थ. ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्या when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्या also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुरयानम् = आखूयः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलमोत्यः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow: *vis* : the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
 परिमृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योः परिमृजापनुदोर्भात्वोः कप्रत्ययी भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ आजस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज् आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुद् पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिमृजः is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुद् means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोद् means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुद् 'a bow', काकमुद् 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाञ्चः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ञ्चः, (कर्मेष्टि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इहातेर्मानातेञ्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', परिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र' ? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गौसंज्ञाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, ख्यः, (कर्मेष्टि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् खया इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् ; as गौसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संघटे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मेष्टि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिवतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गे 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क् ; of this affix इ and क् are indicatory the इ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV. 1. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र + गा + टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sāma'. fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

Vart.—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीघ्र as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीघ्रपः fem. शीघ्रपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe क्षीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by भा.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but भण् ; as शक्रसंगावः, सामसंगावः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पत्न्योक्तं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोर्नुद्यमने कर्मण्युपपदेऽचप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अचप्रकरणे शक्तिर्जागर्ताकुशवटितोमरचटघटीधनुष्य ग्रहेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेच धार्यये ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृम् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars भण्. The word उद्यमन् means 'to raise a load'. Thus भृशं हरति = भृशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्पहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हृ + भ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix भण् will be employed; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', वटि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', चट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिमहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलमहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशमहः 'an elephant driver', वटिमहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरमहः 'a club-bearer', चटमहः, घटीमहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुमहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रमहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रमाहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मेणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽचप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **हृम्** when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb **हृम्** has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word **वयस्** means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as **अस्थिहरः** 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; **कवचहरः** **क्षत्रियकुमारः** 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-रतेः, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वोद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **हृम्** (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition **आम्**, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word **ताच्छील्यं** means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as **पुष्पाहरः** (**पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर**) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also **फलाहरः** ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be **अण्** ; as **भारमाहरति = भाराहारः** 'who brings load'.

अर्हेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हेः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजार्हा, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **अर्हं** 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars **अण्**. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As **पूजार्हा** 'deserving of respect' ; so also **गन्धार्या**, **माजार्हा** ।

स्तम्बकर्षयो रनिजयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्षयोः, रनि-जयोः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्षणं इत्येतयोः सुबन्तबोरुपपदयोर्वयासंख्यं रनिजयोर्धालोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इतिसूचकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रन् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्णे 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रन् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भेरमते = स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रस्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुधपदे धातुमानासंज्ञायां विषये ऽच्प्रत्ययस्य भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शन् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शन् + कृ + अच् = शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभवः संवद्. All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sūtra III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शन् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट, when शन् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ट, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वसिद्धपक्षं ख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ उच्छन्सि ॥

15. The affix भच् comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word सूप (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As खे शोते = खग्नयः 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix भच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पार्श्व 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्श्वशोते = पार्श्वशयः 'who reclines on his sides', उदरशयः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठशयः 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्धसह; as दिग्धेन सह शोते = दिग्धसहशयः ॥

Vart.—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानशोते = उत्तानशयः । भवमूर्त्ता शोते = भवमूर्त्ताशयः ।

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix उच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शोते = गिरिशयः 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter उ of उच् is indicative denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As कुरुचरति = कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus'. मद्रचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix ट the real affix is अ, the letter ट being indicative, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix ङीप्. (Sec. IV. 1. 14), as कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोगम्यतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तेः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् भगवत् भवे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सर्तेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, भगवत् and भवे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also भगवत् सरः and भगवत्सरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्तेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix भण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृजो हेतुताच्छीलानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छीलानुलोम्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति हेतो ताच्छीलानुलोम्येषु च गन्धमाने ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृज् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छीलानुलोम्येषु means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. भानुलोम्य comes from अनुलोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं धनं 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have श्राद्धकरः 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of भानुलोम्य, we have प्रेषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be भण्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्र संख्याजङ्घाबाहुवह्येतद्वनुररुष्ण ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुष्ण, (कर्मणि, सुप्, करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कुञ्जोऽङ्गविधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:—
दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भाः 'light',
कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु
'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि
'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'paint-
ing', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु
'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अहस्
'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकरः 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकरः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; शैलकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; गङ्गाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुस्करः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix भच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, बद्, तद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of इ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by भच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the भञ्जदि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भृतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृतौ, (कर्मणि, करोतेः,

टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिणि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix इ comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is भण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचादुसूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चादु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix इ does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चादु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix इ being prohibited, the general affix भण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakṛitee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चादुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāthā'.

स्तम्बशकृत्तोरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (क-
र्नेछि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीहिवस्तयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत् करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix भन् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पशौ, (कर्नेछि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb दृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भण् is employed ; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेयहिरात्मन्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेयहिः-आत्मन्भरिः,
च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेयहिः आत्मन्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेयहि and आत्मन्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेयहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel इ. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेयहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word आत्मभरिः is formed by adding the augment भृ (भ) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृष्. Thus आत्मनं विभरिः = आत्मभरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-
रक्षि-मथाम्, (कर्नेछि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तौ, रक्ष पालने, मथ विज्ञोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्ण्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष् 'to protect' and मथ् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus व्रजवनिं वा क्षत्रवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोवनिं (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते इवानी पथिरक्तौ (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रा यातूनामभवत् पाराशरो हविर्नयीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्नेछि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एज् कम्पने इत्यस्माद् ण्यन्तारकर्ण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातशुनीतिलशर्द्धेऽजधेद् तुवजहातीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is भ. The ख् indicates that the augment भृन् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus भङ्गमेजयति = भङ्गमेजयः (भङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = भङ्गम् + एजे + भ + भ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix खश् comes after the verbs भज् 'to go', धेद् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्द्ध 'flatulence'. As वातवजाः सुगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धवः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलं तुद् 'an oilman'; शर्द्धं छाहा नावाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मेणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायां तु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast' are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāśankhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेद्; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + दुम् + धे + शप् + खश् = स्तन + म् + धय् + भ + भ) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका + ध्मा + खश् = नासिक + म् + धम + भ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāśankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनन्धयः is स्तनन्धयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory द्.

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मेणोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāśankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a पि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, पटिन्धयः, स्तारिन्धमः, स्तारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि यदौखारीष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,
(खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गो, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह् 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भुजति = कूलमुद्भुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्ग्रहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाश्वे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अश्वे, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अभ इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः लिङ्धेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अभ 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अभलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थापि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थं पचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also क्षीणम्पचः, स्तारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः पचः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मण्योरुपपदयोः तुङ्धेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix लृच् comes after the verb लृच् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or भरुच् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्लृच्: राहु: 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon ; भरुन्लृच्: 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment लृच् after the word भरुच्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः,
दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, लृच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः लृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix लृच् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + लृच् = असूर्यम्पश्यः ; as असूर्यम्पश्य राज्ञारा 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येरस्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-
इरस्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरस्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरस्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking' ; इरया मयति = इरस्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशी वदः लृच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशी, वदः, लृच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोर्वेधातोः लृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लृच्प्रकरणे गमेः सुप्पुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लृच् च विहा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हे च विहायसो विहावेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to speak' when मिच or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus मिचं वच्ति=मिचंवच्: 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवच्: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicative; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुन् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of मिच and वश with वच्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant'.

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicative ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम.

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोस्तापेर्भातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhū*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of ताप्; while in *Chur*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix भण् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः ।

वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यम् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sāstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्तं 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोदारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरु सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्वयासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भगो च दारेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पूरु 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पूरु दारयति = पूरुन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलान्धकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अन्ध-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अन्ध करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मण्युपपदेषु कषेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अन्ध 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकषा नदी 'a river'; अन्धकषो गिरिः 'a mountain'; करीषकषा वायुः 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कजः,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपत्तिधौ भवादिपदेषु तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds'; ऋतिंकरः 'giving pain'; भयंकरः 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vārtika* under I. 1. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have भयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेऽङ् च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अङ्, च,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेरण्प्रत्ययो चकारात् खच् ॥

44. And the affix भण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness'; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix भण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix इ of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई; as भण्यारम्भाः क्षेमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-
भावयोः, (खच्, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुपि' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशित्तंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशित्ती भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशित्तंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृत्तृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, भृ-तृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मेणि, सुप्ति, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz. भृ 'to bear', तृ 'to cross over', जृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मेणि and सुप्ति of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वभरा 'earth' (that which supports all) ; रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sama' ; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband) ; शत्रुजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy) ; युगधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed' ; शत्रुसहः 'Satrumsaha' (withstanding an enemy) ; शत्रुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy) ; अरिदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name' ? Observe कुटुम्बधारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमञ्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुप्ति, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुप्पुपपरे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपरेषु गमेर्डेप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणो सर्वभपन्नयोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसो ज्योषथ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोदेशे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्वेद्वि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अश्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अश्वन्तगः 'going too fast'; अश्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गम् + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a न्'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called न् (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पक्ष 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पक्षगः 'snake'.

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गम् + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री + अगार + गम् + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतल्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाराशह्नोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale' ; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended' ? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word शरु 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शरु आहन्ति = शर्वाघाटः (शरु + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vartika*: as चार्वाघाटः or चार्वाघातः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed ; and the final is replaced by ट ; as वणान् संहन्ति = वणसंघाटः or वणसंघातः 'the alphabet' ; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्दप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son' ; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्धनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, धनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्धनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+हन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपद्योर्लक्षणेवत्तिकर्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नः 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ह् and क् are indicatory. The ह् shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक् = जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानादन्तेर्हन्तोः कर्मण्युपपद्ये टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. इक्ष्मघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृत 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आखुघातः शूद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following ? चोरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krī* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-
(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गन्धमानावां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हन्तृटक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विशेषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

पाणिघताडयौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडयौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडय इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and ताडय are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क् is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् i. e. भन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क् = पाणि + ह् + भ् = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडयः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart:—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आडयसुभगस्यूलपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु चव्यर्थेष्वध्वौ रुजः करणे
स्युन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडय-सुभग-स्यूल-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, चिद्व-अ-
ध्वेषु, अध्वौ, रुजः, करणे, स्युन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आख्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु ऋधयेन्वच्छन्तेषु करोतेर्जातोः करणे कारको ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आख्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big', पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and मित्र 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix चिद्, though not actually ending in the affix चिद्.

The affix चिद् (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The चिद् being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in चिद् and words not ending in चिद्. Both may have the force of चिद्. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in चिद् have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix चिद्, but have the force of चिद् are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आख्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आख्य + कर् + भू = आख्यकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूलकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नग्नकरणम् 'making naked'; अन्धकरणम् 'making blind'; मित्रकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix चिद्'? Otherwise आख्यं तैलेन कूर्चन्ति i. e. अभिञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil'. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of चिद् and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix चिद्'? Observe आदधी कूर्चन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट्; both having the efficient portion यु; what is then the use of prohibiting चिद्? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of चिद् in this sūtra is for the sake of the apophorisms that follow'.

Pāṇjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between *स्युद्* and *स्युन्*. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by *नम्*, *स्नम्*, *ईक्*, *भक्* and *स्युन्* take *ई* in the feminine as well as the words *तनु* and *तलन*. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment *नुन्*. For it being an indeclinable, *नुन्* cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः सिष्णुच्-सुकजौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
सिष्णुच्-सुकजौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु ऋधयेष्वध्वन्तेषु भवतेर्द्धातोः कर्तरि कारके सिष्णुच्-सुकम् इत्येता प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

57. The affixes *सिष्णुच्* and *सुकम्*, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb *भू* 'to become', when it is in composition with words *भाव्य* &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix *प्वि* though not ending in *प्वि*.

Thus *आढ्यन्भविसिष्णुः* 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; *आढ्यन्भाव्यः* 'becoming rich'; *सुभगभविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming happy'; *स्यूलनभविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming big'; *पलितभविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming grey'; *नग्नभविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming naked'; *अन्धभविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming blind'; *प्रियन्भविसिष्णुः* or *-भाव्यः* 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of *प्वि*, otherwise not; as *आढयी भविता* 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in *प्वि*; *आढयी भविता*।

स्पृशोऽनुदके किन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, किन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशोर्धतोरनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे किन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix *किन्* comes after the verb *स्पृश्* 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than *उदक्* 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word *सुप्ति* is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word *कर्त्तृ* instead of *सुप्ति*, because the verb *स्पृश्* is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुप्ति in this case; because the word कर्तारि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश + किन् + सु = स्पृश + वि + ० (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + ० (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृक्; here we have the general affix भण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रत्ययस्थ क्; and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and क्तिप्, as क्व means क्वप्, क्वप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रग्दिगुष्णिग्भुयुजिक्रुष्ठां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अङ्चु-युजि-क्रुष्णम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे ऋचो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्त्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन्; and so also after the verbs अङ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुष्ण 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋत् + वञ् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्)'. This word, however is a कृति word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृप् + किन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्त्रन् + किन् = स्त्रक्. Here there is augment भन्. दृग् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह् + किन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots अङ्चु, अङ्चु, and क्रुष्ण. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अङ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अङ्चु + किन् = प्राङ्चु nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west'; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix **किन्** comes after **बुजिर्** and **कुड्** when these are uncombined. Thus **बुज् + किन् = बुज्**. In nominative singular, **बुज् + सु = बुज् + सु** (VII. 1. 71) = **बुज् + 0** (VI. 1. 68) = **बुज्** (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root **बुज्** is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix **किप्** (see sutra 61). As **अधवुक्** 'yoked with horses'.

So also **कुड् + किन् = कुड्**, nom. sing. **कुड्**, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the **अ** (VI. 4. 24) of **कुड्** is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु,
दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (किन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीषूपपदेषु दृशोर्धातोर्नालोचनेऽयं वर्त्तमानात् कम्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् किन्च ॥

60. And the affix **कम्** comes after the verb **दृश्**, 'to see' when it is in combination with **स्वद्** &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the **किन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **स्वद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus **स्वादृक्** nom. sing. **स्यादृक्**, 'such-like' when it is formed by **किन्**; and **स्वादृशः** 'such-like' when the affix is **कम्**. So also **सद् + दृश् + किन् = सादृक्** (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. **सादृक्** (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and **सादृशः** when **कम्** is the affix. So **सादृक्** or **सादृशः** 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter **म्** of **कम्**? It is for the sake of accent; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative **म्** or **न्** (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative **न्** would have given the same accent, there being no difference between **कम्** and **कन्** in this respect. The indicative **म्** then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix **कम्** from **कन्** in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which **कम्** is taken and not **कन्**. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for **कम्करप्** of that sūtra, we should have read **कन् करप्** so that the feminine of words formed by **कन्** would have also taken long **ई**, so that the feminine of **बावकः** (**बाव + कन्** V. 4. 29) would have been **बावकी** instead of **बावका**.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See **सं पश्यति = सहर्षः** 'who sees that'. The words **स्वादृक्**, **सादृक्** &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words **समान** and **अन्व** are in composition with **दृश्**. 'As **सदृक्** or **सदृशः** 'like' (**समान + दृश् + किन् = स + दृश्** VI. 3. 89); so also **अन्वादृशः** or **अन्वादृक्** 'of another kind'.

Vart.—The affix क्स comes also after the root दृश्. As तादृक्षः, चादृक्षः, अन्यादृक्षः and कीदृक्षः। तद्+दृश्+क्स = ता+दृश्+क्स (VI. 3. 91.) = तादृक्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तादृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) = तादृक्+स (VIII. 3. 59) = तादृक्षः।

सत्सूक्ष्मद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदक्षिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप् ॥
६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-क्षि-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-क्षि-जि-नी-राजान्,
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्तिप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्सूक्ष्मो धातुश्चः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्तिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष् 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', दृह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', क्षिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्त्तृ is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III i. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष् shows that भक्षारि class verb is meant here, and not तुक्षारि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicative लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicative भ.

Thus, सत्-शुचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; भन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू-भण्डसूः 'oviparous'; शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष्-मित्रद्विद् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विद् 'hostile'. द्रुह-मित्रभुक् 'treacherous'; प्रभुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दृह-गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्-अध्वयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्-वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्-काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रभित् 'cutter'. क्षिद्-रज्जुक्षिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रक्षिद् 'a cutter'. जि-शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी-सेनानी 'leader of an army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; प्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ए in these words? Because the word प्रामणी has a cerebral ए in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ण, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराट् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter न् is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो णिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, णिवः, (उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजोर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix णिव comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As भज् = भजोर्भाज् nom. sing. भजोर्भाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, णिवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहोर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix णिव comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुर + सह् + णिव = सुरासाह् nom. sing. सुरासाह् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ढ् by VIII. 2. 31. The final भ of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48 5.

वहञ्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, णिवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहोर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे णिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix णिव comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्टवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्टवाद् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, दिव्यवाद् ।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Ya'ur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ङ्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ङ्युट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहोर्धातोश्चुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ङ्युट् comes after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

इव्येजन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, वहः, व्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इव्यशब्द उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहधर्तोऽव्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चोद्दि-
र्शते ॥

66. The affix व्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word इव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च इव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is इव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix विद् (sūtra 64). As इव्यवाड्, अमरजटः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनसनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-सन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रन् 'to pace' and गन् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुप् are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicative, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = भज्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्-गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा भसि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्-विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कप्खाः 'digger of well'. From कम्-वधिकाः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्-भवेगा उल्लेदणाम् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनजे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनजे, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवेर्धातोर्नन् सुव्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb भृ 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than भक्ष 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus भाममसि = भामात् 'eating raw food'; शक्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with भक्ष as an upapada, we have भक्षार्ः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix भण् (III 2. 1.)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb भृ 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमसि = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासकृप् (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix भण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix भण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्यार्ः which is evidently formed by the affix भण्? The affix भण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्यार्ः means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्यार्ः in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under वृषोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कप्चञ्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-चः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुव्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति घकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कानमुषा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk' ; so also भयंमुषा, चर्ममुषा ।

संज्ञे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो विवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञे,
श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, विवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतेभ्यो विवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां उत्पद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix विवन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विवन् is applied to the verb ज्ञस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्वा ज्ञंसि = उक्थशस्, nom. sing. उक्थशः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विवन् is applied after the verb दाश् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द् is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं = पुरोडाश्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart.—The augment डस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवहस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment डस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

अध्वे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वे, यजः, (विवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्विवन्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word भव्.

As भवयाज्, nom. sing. भवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest' ; as त्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया असि 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

sing.	dual	plural.
1st. अववाः,	अववाजौ,	अववाजः
2nd. अववाज्,	अववाजौ,	अववाजः
3rd. अववाजा,	अववाजी,	अववाजिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेरुहंसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb वज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपवद्विहन्ति वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपवज् formulas'. उपवज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्नि, क्निप्, णि, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपुक्कट् (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपवज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्क्कनिखनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
क्कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुव्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकारादिजपि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), क्कनिप्(क्कन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुहा + मनिन् = सुहामन्, 1st. sing. सुहामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्या + मनिन् = अश्वस्यामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्यामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + क्कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + क्कनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूति + हा + वनिप् = भूतिहावन्, 1st. sing. भूतिहावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंवाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्त्रोपवाः 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,
(मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तैर्भ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया इत्यन्ते,
विच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long भा.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + भ्र् 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + क्वनिप् = प्रातर् + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्नेगावा 'who goes before'. रिप् + विच् = रेप् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेप् 'who injures'; as in रेवसि ण्यो नवेः (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखावाः संसरे = उखासत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णभवत् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाद् भ्रवति = वाहाभ्रत्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रत् 'falling from a car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्यः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्भासोः सुप्युपसर्गे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्यः and शंस्याः । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved ; for, with the upapada शन्, the verb स्या would have taken the affix भच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ खिनिस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ,
खिनिः, ताच्छील्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छील्ये गन्धमाने धातोर्धिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पत्तिभवाभाङि सत्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुज् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmaṇas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्ण भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुवाचित्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन्, &c.:

Vart.—The verb भास in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः ।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker' ; साधुदात्री 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन्, in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्धिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्ग इव क्रोशति = उद्गक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; धात-राविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अप्पानिब भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *māṣa* like *apṣa*'. Here अप्प is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्गः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गन्धमाने सुबन्त इपपदे धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अभ्राद्भोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये गन्धमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणी गान्धाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + णिनि = कषाय + ण + युक् + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिणी उशीनाराः 'the people of Uśināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणी बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुम्भापलाहः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्व्यतेः सुब्रंत उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix णिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खग् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa. i. e., in the 4th conjugation इवन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्च, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानात्मन्वतेः सुप्युपपदे खग्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराण्यनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खग् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix णिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्वः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्वः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तश्च यत्तद्वत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खग् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and श् makes it a sārva dhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने लङिति यावत्, वदित कर्तृननुकनिष्ठायाः भूत इत्येवं तद्देशितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an *adhikāra* or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter ; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose *anuvritti* is also understood throughout the subsequent *sūtras* ; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the *sūtra*, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवान् = अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishtoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time' ? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishtoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The *anuvritti* of णिनि and not of स्वच् is to be read into this *sūtra*. As अभिष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishtoma.' Here Agnishtoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मेणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पिहृष्यचातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle' ; मातुलचातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle' ; हन् + णिनि = चन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = चत् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = चातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The *anuvritti* of the word कर्मेणि of this aphorism extends up to *sūtra* III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूतवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूत-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, (कर्मेणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brâhmana', ब्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmana'; ब्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हन्तिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhmana'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं क्विप् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, क्विप्, (हन्, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्विप् उपपत्तिरेव हन्तेर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन्, 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः।

सुकर्मपापमंत्रपुत्रयेषु कञः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुत्रयेषु, कञः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and पुत्र 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; वापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures ; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The कृ is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुतः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire' ; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मव्यग्राख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्नि-आख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्तिप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As इयेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; ककुचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word भाषया indicates that these words are ruḍhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called इयेनचित्, and so on.

कर्मेष्टीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेष्टि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणाते धादौरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विकृ 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मेष्टि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रयिन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रयिन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्यविक्रायः 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (क्वनेष्टि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृशन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृशा 'who has seen the Meru'. परलोकदृशन् 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिरुजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-रुजः, (क्वनेष्टि, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेथ क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the णिप् affix latent. As राजयुध्न्, 1st. sing. राजयुध्ना (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्स्न, 1st. sing. राजकृत्स्ना (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, रुजः, कनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यन्ते चोपपदे युधिकुशोर्द्धातोः कनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix कनिप् comes after the verbs युष् and रु, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुष्मन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृशन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्हः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, हः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्हःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ह comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ह = ज् + भ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजाती ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजाती, (जनेः, हः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्हःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ह comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अभाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, हः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्हः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ह comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेना मानवी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मेष्टि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मेष्टि, (जनेः, हः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे हःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ह comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition भन् and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुननुजा 'a girl born after the male child i. e. a girl having an elder brother'; रुचननुजः 'a boy born after the female child i. e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, इः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्जः प्रत्यबो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix इ is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97 ; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = भजः 'unborn'; द्विजातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ब्राह्मणो धर्मः ; सन्निवर्जं बुद्धम् ।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix इ comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative ; as अभिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb भनजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As भनजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); भासा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्कृतसूतिष्ठेत्सुक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्यबो भूते भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आहिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes कृ and कृतवत् are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + कृ = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + कृतवत् = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक् + कृतवत् = भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishthā affixes come when *ādi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *ādi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः ।

सुयजोर्ह्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ह्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्ब्रजतेश्च ह्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ह्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ह्वनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुस्वन् 1st. sing. सुस्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The स् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरवन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अवन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरवन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अवन् comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ + अवन् = जर + भव् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. pl. जरन्तो, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishṭhā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान्। जृ + क्त = जरि + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जरि + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवापृथिवीं आततान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददर्श and आततान have the force of nishṭhā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṇ*, *laṇ* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानच्वादेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं पिबवानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुषाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra ? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense ; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. कृतज्ञान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुञ्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (खन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खन्दसि लिटः कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Ohhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जज्ञिवस् 1st. sing. जज्ञिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19) ; पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105 ; अहं सूर्यमुपबसतो दक्षणे.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायान्, सद-वस-श्रुवः, (लिटः, क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्व लिटो भाषायां विषये वा कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासीदत् 'he served' ; उपासीदत् and उपससाद.

So also अनुपिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनुवास.

So also उपगुभुजान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपागुपीत्, उपागुपीत् and उपगुभाष.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लृङ् and लङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानञ्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by च by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+च्+इट्+क्वसु=उपेचिवस् 1st. sing. उपेचिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (अ) where वस् is changed into उप्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेचुषः; instrumental sing उपेचुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीचिवान्, and ईचिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपेत्, Perfect उपेयात् ।

The word अनाधान् is thus formed :—To the verb भग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix क्वसु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+भग्+क्वसु=अनाधस्, 1st. sing. अनाधान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नासात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनूचानः is thus derived :—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्वचोचत्, Imperfect अन्वचवीत्, Perfect अन्वचात्.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिद्यौषे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As *अकार्षीत्* 'he did'; *अहर्षीत्* 'he took'.

Vari.—The affix *लुङ्* comes after the verb *वृत्* 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the *लुङ्* and not in *लङ्*. As *अमुखावात्सम्* 'I dwelt there'; and not *अमुखावत्सम्*.

Vari.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply *अमुखावत्सम्*.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वालोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्लङ् न विषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix *लङ्* comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word *अनद्यतन* is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix *लङ्* by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As *अकरोत्* 'he did'; *अहरत्* 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As *अद्य ह्यो वा अभुज्महि* 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is *लुङ्*.

Vari :—The affix *लङ्* is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—*अरुणश्च वनः साकेतम्* 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; *अरुणश्च वनः माध्यामिकान्* 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe *उदगात् आदित्यः* 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe *चकार कटः देवदत्तः* 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe *जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः* 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लङ्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वरस्यानः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेत्यसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसान 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
चेत्ययोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकाङ्क्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तुन्

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिबाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुङ्क्षमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified ; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्जिद्वययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवत्यन्तापन्हवे च लिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किल विलज्जाय 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; इक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं इक्षिणापथं प्रविशे.

हृशश्वतोर्लङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हृशश्वतोरुपपदबोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालिङ् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles इ and शब्त् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शब्दकरोत् or शब्दचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पुच्छ्यमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानास्त्रातोर्लङ् लिटो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent? Observe भवन्ति पुच्छामि, जयान कंच किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् रमे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, रमे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira sacrificed'; so also नत्ने स्म पुरोधायते । उर्णया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, रमे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्वातोः स्मरूपपरे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father' ; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपरे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛtti of the words '*anadyatana*' and '*paroksha*' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लृङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त ?— ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. भवोचस्तत्र किंचिद् देवदत्त, — ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशाब्दे नुशाब्दे चोपपरे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षीम् ;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षीम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपरे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लृङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used,

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवत्सुः पुरा छात्राः; Imperfect, भवत्सिह पुरा छात्राः; Perfect, कपुरिह पुरा छात्राः।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe वजति स्म पुरा युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भारुधोऽपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्जदप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शब्दशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः, शब्द-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शब्दशानचाविवेतावादेशौ भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेतस्व सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ माह्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शब् and शानच् are substitutes of लट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम्' 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच्=पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)=पच्+भ+मुक्+भान (VII. 2. 82)=पचमान। So also पच्+शप्+शब्=पच्+भ+भत्=पचत्।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa'=अस्ति ब्राह्मणः; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुहत् and जुहोति ; and अभीवानः and अभीवते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle *माङ्* is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As *मा पचन्* and *मा पचमानः* 'may he not cook' ; *मा जीवन् चः परावज्ञातुः खल्वधोऽपि जीवति* 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the *anuvṛtti* of the word 'option' from *sūtra* 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāśhā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानच्ची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानच्ची प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes *शतृ* and *शानच्* are the substitutes of *लट्* even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as *हे पचन्* or *हे पचमान* 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणेऽस्त्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शतृ-शानच्ची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः परस्व लटः शतृशानच्चावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणेहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्यानं च ॥

126. The affixes *शतृ* and *शानच्* are the substitutes of *लट्* and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word *लक्षण* means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; *हेतु* means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word *क्रिया*. Of *lakshana*:—as, *शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः* 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. *तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः* । Of *hetu*:—as *हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते* 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; *अभीवानो वसति* 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe *पचति* 'he cooks' ; *पठति* 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As *चः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः* 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; *यदुच्यते तल्लघु* 'whatever floats is light' ; *यमिषीदति तद्गुरु* 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान् भास्ते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth : as शयान् वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position'; भासीन् वर्धते विसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेत्तोः of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शद-शानच्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शदशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शद and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name ; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above ; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्यात्, करिष्यमाणः ।

The word सत् occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गो यजेश्च धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शद and शानच्? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमाप्नानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term दन् in sūtra II 3. 69. is not the affix दन् taught in this Chapter sūtra 135 ; but it is a *pratyādhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyādhāra* formed by taking the द् of शद in sūtra 124 ; and न् of दन् in 135 ; and thus it means all the affixes from शद in 134 down to दन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानश् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term दन्.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शद. As चोरस्व or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छीत्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छीत्यव-
चयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छीत्यादिषु धातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in ex-
pressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छीत्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वचः means the con-
dition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'.
As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the
age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'.
So also, कर्ताह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिल्प्यं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्-धार्योः शत्रुकच्छिञ्चि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, श्व,
अकच्छिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः श्वप्रत्ययो भवति अकच्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix श्व comes after the verbs इङ् 'to
go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the
action without trouble.

The word अकच्छिञ्च means that which is accomplished by the agent with
ease and facility. As अधीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारयन् उ-
पनिषद्म् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and
means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he
'reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (श्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः श्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix श्व comes after the verb द्विष्
when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तो 'two enemies',
द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या वतिम्
'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (श्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तेऽभिषदे वर्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः श्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix श्व comes after the verb सु 'to
press out juice' when the sense is that of association
with sacrifice.

The word **यज्ञसंयोग** is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As **सु + नु + शब्** (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = **सुनु + भत्** (I. 2. 4.) = **सुन्वत्** (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. **सुन्वन्**, 1st. pl. **सुन्वन्तः** 'the sacrificers'; as in **सर्वे सुन्वन्तः** 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word **संयोग** indicates that the principal sacrificer, i. e. the **यज्ञमान** is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity ; such as **वाजकाः** 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have **सुनोति सुराम्** 'he distils liquor'.

अहः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शब्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहतेर्होतोः प्रशंसायां शब्दप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **शब्** comes after the verb **अह** in expressing praise.

As **अहंनिह भवान्विद्याम्** 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; **अहंनिह भवान्पूजाम्** 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness **अहंति चौरो वधम्** 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेश्छीलतदुर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेः, तच्छील-तदुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्लेशंशब्दाद्यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as **क्लिप्** in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of **आ** in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes **क्लिप्** also. The term **तच्छील** means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term **तदुर्मे** means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term **तत्साधुकारि** means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम्, (तच्छील-तदुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हन्विधावृत्तिषु आनुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः षुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वपेदेवतायामकारणोपधाया अनिदत्वञ्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शरेभ्य निमुक्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि दृक् च ॥

135. The affix **हन्** comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The **हन्** of **हन्** is indicative, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As **कृ + हन् = कर्ह**, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता कटाहन् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मृण्डयितारः श्राविष्टायना भवन्ति वधूमताम् 'the family of Srāvishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमपहरारि आह्वरका भवन्ति आह्वे सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; हज्जेतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते 'the Taulvalāyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्ता कटम् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्तास्सखेटम् 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix **हन्**, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As **हु + हन् = होह**, 1st. sing. होता 'the Hotri priest'; so also पोह 'the Potri priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गाह 'the Udgātri priest'; प्रतिहर्ह 'the Pratihartri priest'. Here the affix is **हच्**. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* **हन्** places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while **हच्** places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

Vart:—The augment **षुक्** is added when नी takes the affix **हन्**; as नी + **षुक् + हन् = नेह**, 1st. sing. नेहा 'the Neshtri priest'.

Vart:—When signifying diety, the verb त्विष् takes **हन्**; the letter **अ** is the substitute for the **इ** of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate **इद्** augment; as, त्विष् + **हन् = त्वह**, 1st. sing. त्वहा 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:—The root क्षह takes **हन्**, when the word to be formed means an officer; as क्षह 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:—In the Veda, the root क्षह takes **हच्** as क्षह. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृन्निराकृज्प्रजनोत्पद्योत्पत्तोन्मदरुध्यपन्नपवृत्तुवृषुसहचरः
इहृषुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृ-निराकृ-प्रजन-उत्पद्य-उत्पत्त-उन्मद-
रुचि-अपन्नप-वृत्तु-वृषु-सह-चरः, इहृषुच्, (तण्डीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तण्डीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृमोमण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुच्चकम्बः ॥

136. The affix **इष्णुच्** comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पद्य 'to be ripe', उत्पत्त 'to fly', उन्मद 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपचप् 'to be ashamed', वृत् 'to be', वृष 'to grow', सह 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अलङ्कारिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनयिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उड्पतिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मदिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपनयिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart:—The affix इष्णुच् debars by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलङ्, though it has the sense of decorating'.

खेड्दसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ खेः, ड्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋन्ताङ्गातोऽङ्गन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As हृषन् धारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones' ; वीरुषः पारयिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (ड्दसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोऽङ्गन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as, भ्राजिष्णुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्ल-जि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ल-जि-स्था इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङोऽङ्गन्वस्त्वुपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ल 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थान्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable' ; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛtti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of ह्या, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्त्वि (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (क्विति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्ः किति), the augment इद् does not come after the verb स्नु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite ; as वंशवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

असिगृध्रिधृषित्तियेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ असि-गृधि-धृषि-त्तियेः,
क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असाक्षिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble', गृध्र् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, त्रस्तुः 'trembling'; गृध्रन्तुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold'; and क्षिप्तुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो चिनुच् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,
चिनुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमाक्षिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु चिनुच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix चिनुच् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with म् in the list of verbs. Of the affix चिनुच् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile; the च is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; इ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes *vriiddhi* (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in म् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking *vriiddhi* being मर् ।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमी 'desiring'; इमी 'taming'; अमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; कृमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; ममादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मर् takes the affix इष्णुच्, it also takes the affix चिनुच् by the rule of वाचस्पत्य (III. 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिक्त्वा,

संपृचानुरुधआक्यसपरिससंज्ञपरिदेविसंज्ञपरिस्त्रिपपरिट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाम्याहनञ्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आक्यस-आक्यसं-परिस-
संज्ञ-परिदेवि-संज्ञ-परिस्त्रिप-परिट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविच - त्यज - रज - भज - अतिचर - अपचर - आमुष - अम्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, चिनुञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix चिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— सम्पृच्, अनुरुध्, आयम्, आयस्, परिस्र, संज्ञ, परिदेव, संज्ञ, परिस्त्रिप, परिरट्, परिवद, परिवह, परिमुह, दुष, द्विष, द्रुह, रुह, युज, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अम्याहनन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb स्त्रिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + चिनुण् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्क 'mix-
ture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयामी 'one
who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lament-
ing'; संज्ञारी 'greatly heating'; परिज्ञेयी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud';
परिवाही 'reviling'; परिवाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hat-
ing'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; द्रोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी
'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी
'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आनीषी 'a thief'; अम्यापाती
'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वौ कषलसकत्यस्त्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, कष-लस-कत्य-
स्त्रम्भः (चिनुञ्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कत्य स्त्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशम्भरूपरे चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs कष 'to injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कत्य 'to praise' and स्त्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विनासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकस्यी 'vaunting'; and विसम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्धातोरपठपठे चकाराद्धौ च चिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुष् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and चि.

As अपलाषी 'thirsty'; विनाषी. The term चि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपस्रद्रुमयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-स्र-द्रु-मय-वद-वसः, (चिनुष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपठे लपादिभ्यो चिनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुष् comes after the verbs लप, स्र, द्रु, मय, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition चि.

As प्रलाषी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रहारी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमायी 'tormenting'; प्रवायी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिस्त्रिपपरिरटपरिवादिष्याभाषासूयो वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिस्त्रिप-परिरट-परि-वादि-ष्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—
निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्लिग्, खाद्, विनाग्, परिस्त्रिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, ष्याभाष् and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+वुञ् = निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिस्त्रिपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; ष्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ण्वुल् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāṣa :—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वुञ् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोऽपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,
(युञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशोऽपसर्गे उपपदे युष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युष् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुग् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोष्टा formed by हन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युष्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेभ्यो धातुः हलादिकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudâttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes हन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; शीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एध् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स् which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्त्वं ।

शुचक्रस्यदन्द्रस्यसुगधिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥

शु-चक्रस्य-दन्द्रस्य-सु-गधि-ज्वल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चक्रम्, दन्द्रम्, सु, गृध्र, ज्वल, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु + युच् = जो + भन (VII. 1. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = जवनः (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चक्रम् + युच् = चक्रन् + भन् (II. 4. 74) = चक्रमनः 'moving about'; so also दन्द्रम्: 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गदैनः 'greedy'; ज्वलनः 'burning'; शोचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इष्णुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भलङ्कम्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of हन् to भलङ्कम् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of ण्वल् to the same. If a *tāchchhīlīka āpavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhīlīka utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद, because in that case the addition of उक्त्वा to पद by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpāna*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpāka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकल्पनः ।

क्रुधमरुहार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मरुह-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध क्रोधे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament', But not so after the verb भलङ्क to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्वातोर्ध्वं पश्यतो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As कनूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमायिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix हन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्ष ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddattat*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take हन्. As, सूदिह 1st. sing. सूदिता 'one who strikes'; दीपिह 'one who shines'; दीक्षितु 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhāṣhā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāṣhā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कक्षा युवतिः and कमला युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the मन्त्रादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ह्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ह्युद्.

लषपतपदस्याभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उक्कञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-

पत-पद-स्या-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उक्कञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उक्कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उक्कञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष, पत्, पद्, स्या, भू, वृष्, हन्, कम्, गम् and शृ ।

As अपलायकं वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपातुर्कसंगं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभायुकमकं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आघातुकं कापालिकस्य शूलम्, कानुकं एनं क्रियो भवन्ति, आगानुकं वाराणसीं रत्न आहुः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णमाहुः । The ञ् is added after स्या in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जलपभिस्तकुहलुष्टवृङः षाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जलप-भिस्त-

कुह-लुष्ट-वृङः, षाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जलपदिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु षाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix षाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिष्ट, कुह, लुष्ट and वृ ।

The च is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीष् *i. e.* long ई (IV. I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; निम्नाकः 'a beggar'; कुहाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुप्याकः 'a thief or robber'; वराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवत्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रज् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनी &c.

जिहृक्षिविश्रीयवभाव्ययाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-हृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इच्छ-वम-अव्यय-अभ्यम-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', इ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यय 'not to give pain', अभ्यम 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As : जयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; similarly, इरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अस्वयी 'exceeding'; वनी 'vomiting'; अव्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभयी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीढो महण कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:— स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दत् 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रद् to the verb धृ 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृह्यालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृह्यालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पत्यालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; द्यालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding भव.

Vart :—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयालुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेत्सि शदसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेत्-सि-शद-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेत् ति शद सद् इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेद् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद् 'to fall' and सद् 'to sit'.

As, दातुः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As सेरुः 'binding'; शद्गुः 'falling'; and सद्गुः 'resting'.

स्रघस्यदः क्मरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्र-घसि-अदः, क्मरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्र घसि अद् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्मरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs स्र 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद् 'to eat'.

As स्रमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अद्मरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासनिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-निदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास निद् इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज् 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and निद् 'to be fat'.

As भञ्ज + घुरच् = भञ्ज + घुर (VII. 3. 52) = भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicative घ. So also नेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिद्धिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-द्धिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिद्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच् वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and द्धिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरः काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; द्धिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs विद् and द्धिद्.

Vart :—The affix कृष् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इहन् नश्जिसर्तिभ्यः कर्प् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इह्-नश्-जि-सर्तिभ्यः, कर्प्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नश् जि सर्ति इहन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कर्प्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix कर्प् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and छ 'to flow'.

The ण् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + कर्प् = इ + तु + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जिस्वरः, fem. जिस्वरी 'victorious'; छस्वरः, fem. छस्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वज् *pratyāhāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निपात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः कर्प्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the न् of गम् and adding the affix कर्प्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ककः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्तेककःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix कक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागुरुकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङ् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङ् (तच्छीलादिषु, ककः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङ्प्रत्ययानाम्ककःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix कक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and यग् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take कक. As यजजङ्कः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जजङ्कः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly'; यज्यङ्कः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिक्स्मिन्मयजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-क्स्मिन्-मयज-सक-महिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्बादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', भजस् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and शीप् 'to shine'.

Thus, नमं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; भजन् जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कन्या युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस रक्षः 'the injuring Rākshas'; शीर्षं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word भजन् is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle भ, and the affix र; as भ + जस् + र = भजन् ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसैर्मिश्रेण तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and निष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, विकीर्णः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; निष् 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb वसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेच्छस्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यप् (see sūtras III. I. 8, II, 13, &c). As निन्दुः, संवेदुः, सुमनुः (Rig. Ved. I 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit कृन् will be employed. As निनीविता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when कृच् follows; as पुन + कृच् = पुनी + च = पुनीच. Why then in the case of मिचयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मिच? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आद्गमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्-अ-
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य कृष्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनी प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावृत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो ङानात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धातुकृच्छ्रजनिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहितलिपिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long कृ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been कृ, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short कृ would only be included and not long कृ. But the present rule is applicable to long कृ as well.

Thus पा + कि = पयिः 'drinking'; as पयिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; इहिर्गाः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ तसुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). इन्द्रे भव्याजगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जह्विः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जह्विबुधम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जज्ञिः as जज्ञिबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. i).

The letter कृ in these affixes is indicative. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कृत्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कृत् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कृत् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, गुणा is the substitute of the verb कृच्छ्र and of those that end in the long कृ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुणा. It is to prevent this गुणा of the letter कृ that we have annexed an indicative कृ to these affixes.

Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सवृ &c.; as सेहिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृम्, छ, जनि,

गमि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, इधिः, चक्रिः, ससिः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेतिः ।

Vart:—The affixes क्रि and क्रिन् come after the Intensive (बहुन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचलिः, यायतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषीः, नजिङ्,
(तच्ङीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेक्ष्येच तच्ङीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्रुवेत्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वमज् 1st. sing. स्वमक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृवन्द्योराहः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आहः, (तच्ङी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्ङीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आह comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शराहः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुक्कनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-क्रुक्कनौ, (तच्ङी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिभी भये अस्माद्धातोस्तच्ङीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुक्कनौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रु कनपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्रुक्कन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्रुक्कन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः ।

इशेभ्रासपिंसकसो वरष् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-ईश-भास-
पिंस-कसः, वरष्, (तच्ङीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या ईश भास पिंस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्ङीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरष् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्या 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्यावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्ङीलादिषु, वरष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा प्रापणे भस्माद्यङ्गन्तास्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरप् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb वा when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as वाचावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्तिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्तिप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्तिप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine', भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', उर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाद् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व् + क्तिप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धुः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; उर्ज् 1st. sing. उर्ज् 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पृः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तु (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्तिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाचस्पत्यविधि does not apply in *tāchchhika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(तच्छीलादिषु, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिप्प्रत्ययिष्ठपाठस्तु कटपृजुभीष्ठां दीर्घाऽसम्प्रसारणं ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इभ्रव इस्वस्व इस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः सम्प्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्तिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As जुज् 1st. sing. जुक् 'joining'; छिज् 'piercing'; भिज् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्तिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When *क्विप्* follows, the long vowel is the substitute of *वच्* 'to speak', *प्रच्छ्* 'to ask', *आयतस्तु* 'to praise long', *कटम्* 'to move through a mat', *जु* 'to move rapidly', and *श्री* 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. 1. 16),

As, *वाक्* 'the voice'; *प्रच्छ् + क्विप्* = *प्रश् + क्विप्* (VI. 1. 10) = *प्रश् + क्विप्* (VIII. 2. 36) = *प्राट्* (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; *आयतस्तु*: 'who praises long'; *कटम्*: 'a worm'; *जू*: 'swift'; *श्री*: 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word *जु* which was mentioned in the last *sûtra* is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs *शुत्* 'to shine', *गम्* 'to go' and *हु* 'to invoke', when *क्विप्* follows. As, *विशुत्* 'shining'; *जगत्* 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of *जुहु*: as *जुहुः* 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.'

Vart:—The root *हृ* 'to tear' is shortened also; as *हृत्* 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb *ध्या* 'to think' has *samprasâraṇa*; as *धीः* 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix *क्विप्* comes after the verb *भू* 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, *विभू*: 'a person called Vibhû'; *प्रतिभू*: 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वोक्तवतेर्धातोः ड्वप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड्वप्रकरणे नितङ्वादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix *ड्व* comes after the verb *भू* when it is preceded by the upasargas *वि*, *प्र* and *सम्* provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As *विभू*: 'all pervading'; *प्रभू*: 'lord'; *संभू*: 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe *विभू*: 'a person called Vibhû'.

Vart:—The words *नितङ्ग* &c, also are formed by this affix. As *नितङ्ग*, 'the sea'; *संभू*: 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied *ड्व* and not *क्विप्* to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhâtus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of *लुक्* augment. Thus the 1st. dual of *नितङ्ग* is *नितङ्ग*, 1st. pl. is *नितङ्गः*. Here there is no substitution of *उकङ्* which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if *ड्व* had retained its *dhātu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. 1. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. नितङ्वा &c, (2.) We have no न् which rule VI. 1. 71 required. नितङ्वाति=नितङ्वाः ।

धः कर्मेणि षट् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मेणि, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धातोश्च कर्मेणि कारको षट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix षट् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory च denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दात्रीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् सि सिच् मिह पत दश नह एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारको षट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix षट्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप् 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दाप्, 1st. sing. neuter दाप् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योजं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्तम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a penegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', संत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक्तं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेढ्रम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajādi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(आ) and not in ई (IV. 1. 4).

The root दश is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i* as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह + षट् = नहष् fem. नहष्ठी (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूम् पूङ् पवने, अस्माद्धातोः करणे कारको षट्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix षट् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू includes both पूङ् and पूम्; as पौत्रम् 'a plough-share'; पौत्रम् 'the snout of a hog'.

अति-लू-धू-सू-खन-सह-चर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अति-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेष्वो धातुभ्यः कण्ठे कारको इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs कृ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरिन् 'a rudder'; लविन् 'a sickle'; धविन् 'a fan'; सविन् 'cause of production'; खनिन् 'a spade'; सहिन् 'patience'; चरिन् 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः कण्ठे कारको इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतुर्लङ्गा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पविन् an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.'

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः कण्ठे कर्तरि च इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्वैपासख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पविषोऽयमुषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); अग्निः पविन् स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पविन् ते मा पुनन्तु ।

शीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीतो धातोर्बर्तमानेऽयं क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative मि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as मिमिश 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिमः (मिच् + क्त = मिच् + त = मिन् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So मिद्विषा—द्विषः 'sounding inarticulately'; मिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,

च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जूष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; हविष्टः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टः 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शवितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तृप्तः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

—:०:—

उणादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽयं संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कुवापाजिमिस्वदिसाधशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वह 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and भश् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ + उण् = कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; सायुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and भायुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुलं has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unadi* affixes. Thus though the affixes *उज्ज* is ordained after *इष*, it comes also after *शक्* as *शङ्कुजा*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unadi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (*सतोष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Sākaṭyāṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unadi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्राञ्जसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसंशोधयिषेत् तत्प्रकृतं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् ।
वज्र पदार्थविशेषसमुत्पत्त्यं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्व्याम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययानि ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादन्वन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उच्चादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उच्चादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unadi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unadi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वर्त्मन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unadi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गन्तुम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगन्तुम् 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थातुम् 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतियोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोणी 'an enemy'; प्रतियाची; आवाची; भावी, &c.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लृट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As चो गन्तुम् ग्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः,
लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Laṭ' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आलोके ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावत्स्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुपुत्रं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावत् इत्यति तावत् भोक्षते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा गच्छति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः,
(भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्षते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्षते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तरूपरे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes क्तर and क्तम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, दासति, दाता, or कतनो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गन्धर्वाणां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity,

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpuruṣa Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं दासति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता-

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोड्यलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्थः प्रैषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोट्थलक्षणो धात्वर्थः, स वर्तमानाद्भातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट्थ means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट्थलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले लोट्थलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराख्यम् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तानुपरि मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण दृग्भावो न भवति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the futuro, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोक्तुम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्था), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भित्तिस्थे इति भस्व जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावत्तरते पतिष्यति इण्ड: 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix ण्वुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like क्त्वा &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वासक्य (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य वे यमादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as क्त्वा &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुटये व्रजति ।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वासक्य rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence वृत्तुन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, चञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अस् कर्मेष्टि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्, कर्मेष्टि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्यप्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाचक्य not applying, the affix ण्वुञ्ज would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of ण्वुञ्ज of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परस्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क् &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long भा, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भस्वदायो व्रजति। दा+अण्=दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डलायो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायाम् धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लुटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञो लुटशानच् वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'śānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛiṭ'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes लुट् and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्तं हेवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं हेवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जचिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते हेवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्व + लृट् (III. 1. 33) = कर + इट् + स्व + शट् = करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्. In other words the participial affixes भत् (भन्त) and मान, technically known as शट् and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्व of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लुट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वासीर्जुद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वासिर्कम् ॥ परिहेवने भवतनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Luṭ' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛiṭ'. As भः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. श्वो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लृट्. As अद्य भवति वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इहं तु कदा गन्ता, वैव पादौ निरुधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अहं तु कदा ज्ञेयता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदरुजो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot'; रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेशः 'entrance'.

Vart.—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्श meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix भञ्, under rule III. I. 134; as स्पर्शो देवदत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

सु स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तेर्द्धातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, स्र + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सत्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As भित्तिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे बाष्पे धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पक् + चम् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); र्वागः 'abandoning'; रागः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes चम् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीक्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति भक्ष्यद्रव्यम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिलाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe नैषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word नैष is related to the verb निषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not चम्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that चम् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as कौ भवता दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; कौ भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युद्देश, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसङ्ग प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नम् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2, 6 about नम् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमात्र-आख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारभारो कर्त्तरि णिज् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + भ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पदौ। कृ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः। द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अच् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अच् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (कृदि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अच् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अच्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिजोच्छ्रित्तिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour'.

इङ्घ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्घः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङ्घो धातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीष् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घृ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि+इ+घम् = अधि+ऐ+भ = अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्स्यास्तादधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ्घ as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीष्. As उपेत्स्याधीयते ऽस्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घम् comes after the root गृ, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As ह्यारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars भप् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुवः 'sound',

समि युद्गुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्गु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्गु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संश्रवः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिखीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-खी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'ñi' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix भच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रावः 'shelter', नावः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रभवः 'respect', प्रणवः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घम्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form गव in नवी रातः? Here the root नी has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वी क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वी, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विभावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have जवः and भवः ।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्नियतोर्धोर्ध्वम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As भवनावः 'throwing down'; उजावः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उजवः in उजवः पदार्थानाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुश्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रदावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रसावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and जवः ।

निरभ्योः पूरवोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर-अभ्योः, पू-रवोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूरवोर्धोर्ध्वम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूम्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर comes before पू, and अभि before लू. As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; भजिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उत्तन्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तन्योरुपपदयोः गृ इत्येतस्माद्गतोर्ध्वम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grī' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्रस्व 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्व 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्व्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्वातोऽरुन्वोरुपपदयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयबोध्यास्वयं भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the verb 'kṛi', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भेद्वोत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे सनि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, सनि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे सपूर्वास्तौतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावब्रह्मन्योगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(= समेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवब्रह्मणोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

मे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्येष्टवने भस्माद्वातोः प्रशब्दरूपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेष्टविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंसप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रघने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रघने, वी, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् भाष्येष्टवने भस्माद्वातोर्विशब्दरूपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रघने गन्धमाने तच्चेत्यनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañi' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word *प्रयत्न* means 'extent, circuit, range'. As *वस्त्र-विस्तारः* 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, *दृणविस्तरः* 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe *विस्तरो वचसाम्* 'prolixity of words'.

छंदो नास्ति च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नास्ति, च, (घो, स्त्रः, घ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्वणात्छन्दोनास्ति चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word *छन्द* here means prosodial metre such as *Gāyatri* &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word *नाम* would not have been used. Thus *वि+स्व+*, *चम्*=*वि+स्व+चम्* (VIII. 3. 94)=*विहारः* 'the name of a metre called *Vishāra-Pankti*'.

The whole word *विहारपङ्क्ति* is the name of a metre, and is not a word *ending* with the affix *ghañ*; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with *ghañ*. The seventh case-affix in the word *छन्दोनास्ति* has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपदे ग्रहेर्दोर्ध्वम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वात्पीठ्यते लुगुद्यमननिपातप्रत्ययोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *अप्*. As *उद्ग्राहः* 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word *ग्रह* is preceded by *नि*; and the *ह* is changed into *ञ*; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, *उद्ग्रामं च निग्रामं च ब्रह्मदेवा भवीषुधम्* ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुपपदे ग्रहेर्दोर्ध्वम्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयभेदात्प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word *मुष्टि* means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, *अहो मल्लस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; *अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe *संग्रहो धान्यस्य* 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योनीयोद्युताधेययोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इयोः,
द्युत-अधेययोः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं निव इत्यथ धातोर्चम्प्रत्ययौ भवति, अथो-
पपदः, द्युताधेययोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take चम् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणयेन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणय = समन्तानय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + चम् = नि + हे + अ = नि + भाव = न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययः 'decay'; as न्ययज्जतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अधेय means परार्थानामनपचारी यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावनुपात्यय इहः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इहः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इहो धातोर्चम्प्रत्ययौ भवति अनुपात्यये गन्धमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रममाप्तत्वावतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः श्रुतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, श्रुतेः, पर्याये, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोर्होपपदयोः श्रुतेर्धातोर्चम्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रायः = तव राजानम् परावितुम्पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रायः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विम्वरः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चैत् स्तेयं चोर्ध्वं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उच्यते प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पग्रन्थायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलग्रन्थायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थानां फलानां वृष्ट्या ग्रन्थं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पग्रन्थश्चोर्ध्वेण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्यते: 'gathering'; as पुष्पग्रन्थः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिशरीरउपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेश्च, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोरारब्ध ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निवासः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kāsi-dwelling'; आकाशमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अनिरुधः कायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चचः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ग्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ग्ये,
(चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घम्प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word *संच* means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddsa* negation the other is taken. Thus *भिक्षुक-निकायः* 'the assembly of beggars'; *ब्राह्मणनिकायः* 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; *वैयाकरणनिकायः* 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But *सकृन्नच* 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also *कृताकृतसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of what is done and not done'; *प्रमाणसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no *संच* in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghañ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे चच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
चच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गन्धमाने धातोर्णचप्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word *कर्म* means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. *व्यतिहार* means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (*भाव*) also. The anubandha *च* in *चच्* is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in *sūtra* V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus *चि + भव + कृश् + णच् + भञ् + ङीप्* = *व्यावक्रोशी* (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also *व्यावहासी*, *व्यावजेखी*. The affix *णच्* forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix *भञ्* by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix *ङीप्* of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe *व्यतिपाक्रो वर्तते* ।

The making of this a separate *sūtra* by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with *क्लिन्* (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with *क्लिन्* &c, then the affixes that would have debarred *क्लिन्* &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar *क्लिन्* &c, do not debar this. Thus *व्यावक्रोशी*, *व्यावचर्ची* । Here *चुर्* being a *चञ्ज* class root would have taken *चच्* (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरण; and चर्च would have taken भर्च् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईश् and ईह, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take भ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix भ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यर्त्तिका, व्यर्त्तीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यर्त्तिका &c. The form व्यर्त्तुकी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुक् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inun' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus संरात्रिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कूट्+इन्+अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूटिनम् 'a general confusion'; सो सल्लारिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, संरात्रः, संश्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाऽसरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence चम् never comes in this sense, Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकुटनम्. See rule कृत्यल्युटौ बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुक् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्महर्षातोर्धर्मप्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ui'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुक् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of चम् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृषजन्मूयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निमाहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य; निग्रहश्चोरस्य ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशाब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति लिप्तायाम् गन्धमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्रमाहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; सुवप्रमाहेण चरति द्विजो इक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्ता means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रमहो देवदत्तश्च ।

परौ यच्चे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यच्चे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशाब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिषाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधर-परिषाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिषाहः देवदत्तश्च 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाब्दउपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृह् and वृश्. This debars the affix भृ. As नीवाता: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियौतिपूद्रवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यौति-पू-द्रवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे अयतियादित्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'sri', 'yu', 'pû' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रावः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उत्सावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रावः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रावाः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावलोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ङङि रूप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङि, रु-
प्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रौतेः ह्रस्वेऽथ विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; आस्नावः or आस्नवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रति-
बन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्वर्षप्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived ; as अवग्रहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

मे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ मे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यत्वेऽवणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाग्रहः or तुलाग्रहाहः, as तुलाग्रहेण चरति or तुलाग्रहणं चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe ग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, मे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिर्वात्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control ; as प्रग्रहः or प्रमाहः 'a rein'.

वृषोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपत्तेर्वृषोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं न चेराच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering' ? Observe प्रवरान्गो ।

परी भुवो ज्वझाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परी, भुवः, अवझाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपत्तेर्विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhñ', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard' ? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवणान्तादातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भज्जिधो भवादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जत्रसवो ह्यन्वसि वक्तव्यो ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19 : and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चच् 'collecting' ; भच् 'going' ; जच् 'victory' ; सच् 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+अप्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this Vartika.

Vart.—The words जज्ञ and सज्ञ are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु मे जज्ञः, पञ्चानसज्ञः। These roots जृ and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'rî', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars चञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कृ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; गृ+अप्=गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ+अप्=शरः 'arrow'; धृ+अप्=धरेः 'barley'; लृ+अप्=लवः 'reaping'; पृ+अप्=पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The र् in ऋत् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not र् changed into ऋ; for then by the rule 'that which follows र् is also called तपर' short ऋ only would have been taken and not long ऋ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-दृ-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वशिरण्योरपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कविधानं स्यात्स्नापावधिहिनियुत्तर्यम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars चञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix भञ् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; हरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken भञ्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वञ् and रण् should also be included in this; as वञ्जः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चञ्, the affix क् is directed to be employed, after the following verbs :—स्था, स्ना, पा, वृध्, हन् and युष्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विज्ञः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुधः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग-अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽर्धोत्तोरपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; म्रचसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद् + घञ् = घस् + भ (II. 4. 38).

नैः ख च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नैः, ख, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्णः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ण = नि + आद् + भ = न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + भ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars वञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe भाव्यावा, उपजावा ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; म्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; महासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतैषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयमः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियमः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ।

नैः गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नैः, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगद्य उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'paṭh' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चम्. Thus निगद्: or निगाद्: 'recitation'; निनद्: or निनाद्: 'noise'; निपठ: or निपाठ: 'reading'; निस्वन: or निस्वान: 'a noise'.

कञो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कञः, वीणायान्, च, (नौ, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनूपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvaṇ' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix चम्. Thus निकृण्: or निक्काण्: 'a musical tone'. कृण्: or क्काण्: 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कृष्णाण्यप्रकृणा वीणा.

But not so here, भक्तिकाणो वर्तते, where the upasarga being भक्ति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, कृण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पञ्चः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पञ्चः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्च व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, अस्माद्धातोर्निस्वनप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्बमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'paṇ' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word निश्च 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोर्नूपसर्गादप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चम्. As विद्यामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मदादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कौकिलानां सम्मदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमदः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृते in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समु-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपरादयोरजतंर्द्धातोः पशुष्विषये धात्वर्थेऽप्यस्त्यद्यो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चम्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो ज्ञातव्यानां, उदजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अक्षेष् ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेष्, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयवच्छास्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्लह्. The verb ग्लह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्लह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अक्षेष् ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्लहः पादस्व ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चम्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चम् ।

प्रजने सर्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्तः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्तर्धातोः प्रजने विषये अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars चम्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवानुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यस्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपठेषु ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars चम्. As नि + ह्वे + अप् = नि + हु + अ (VI. 1. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निहव (VI. 1. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation'; विहवः 'calling'. But प्रह्वः 'a summons'.

आङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपपठे ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आह्विः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङि, ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्व by the prefix आ, then samprasâraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + ह्वे + अप् = आहु + अ = आहो + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आह्विः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वयतेः संप्रसारणमपस्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As ह्वः 'calling' ; हवे हवे सुहवं गूरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe आह्वावः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19. which was running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनञ्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हानोरनुपसर्गो भावे अप् प्राच्यो भवति, तत्संनिधौगेन च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदात्तः ।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudātta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves' ; वधोदस्यूनानाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix चम् applies; as घातः 'a blow.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix चम् also ; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्तावभिधेयायां हन्तेरपस्ययो भवति, वधादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभ्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाहन्तेरपस्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'an-tar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर+हन्+अप्=अन्तर=घन्+अ=अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, घ, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghāna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्पाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, उत्पाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यतेऽश्वाधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत्+हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप+हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकोऽपमर्यवो भवति, घनारोशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोधनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघनः 'a mallet'; द्रुघनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघणः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे कारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case घन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बघ्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघ्ना as well as स्तम्बघना । When क is added, we have स्तम्बघ्नः । Thus हन् + क = हन् + भ (VI. 4. ५४) = घ्न (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by घन् । When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः ।

परौ चः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, चः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्हानोरपप्रत्ययो भवति करणे कारके चकारात् ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिचः or पलिचः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपप्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate भ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into घन् । This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः ।

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्घोऽपपत्योर्हन्ते ह्यतोऽपप्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सङ् + हृन् + अप = सं + हृ + अ = सं + घृ + अ = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घे मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमितम्, (हन्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्भन्तेऽपप्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमितं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'.
The word निमित = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from ना or from
नि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

द्वितः द्वित्रः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-द्वतः, द्वित्रः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः क्विः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the pre-
vious aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्वि, मप् is always the aug-
ment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix क्वि alone; but we must al-
ways use त्रिम्. Thus दुपचम् 'to cook'—पक्विमम् 'what is ripe'; दुवप्—उपत्रिम् 'sown'
(VI. I. 15); दुकृम्—कृत्रिम् 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-द्वतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोऽयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As द्रुवेयु—वेयुः 'a trembling'; दृभोधि—धयुः 'swelling'; दृभु—सवयुः 'sneezing'; दृहु—वयुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजार्थिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The नङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi (I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice'; वाच्या 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विमः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षणः 'protection'.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into क् before the ङि affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. i. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+क्ष+कि=प्रक्षिः 'a present'; प्रक्षिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; भ्रन्तर्हिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मेवयधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेव, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेण्युपपत्तेः पुंसस्तकोभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिः प्रत्यययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix क्ति from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियान्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावाद्भातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नावादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लान्ग्लान्वादिभ्यो निः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्प्रदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'kṭin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चम्, भच् and भप् affixes. Thus कृत्तिः 'action'; चित्तिः 'a gathering'; नत्तिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *kṭin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आप्तिः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; शीत्तिः 'shining'; क्षत्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वत्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुत्तिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so इष्टिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुत्तिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्ले 'to be exhausted', ग्ले 'to fade', उवा 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; ग्लानिः 'fading', वयानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long ऋ and the verbs लृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्त्तिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = क्ति + ति (VII. 1. 100) = क्तिर् + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर्त् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त् is changed into न् by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न् is changed into ण् by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्तिः 'praise'; जीर्तिः 'old age'; शीर्तिः 'drying'; कृन् (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; बृन्तिः 'joining'; धृन्तिः 'agitation'; पून्तिः 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कृप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs कृ &c. are 21 verbs of kṛyādi class.

स्यानापापघो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-गा-पा-पघः, भावे,
(स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गो भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthā' (to stand), 'gā' (to sing) 'pā' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix भङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long भा. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीतिः 'a singing aloud'; गै + क्ति = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛtiti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्या and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like इवस्या &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्या, संस्था &c. by applying the affix भङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
वृष-इष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषवे वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accentuated comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मत्तिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष् we have also an irregular noun इष्ट्या (III 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rîg Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊत्साद्वः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word नने does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:—भक् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ऊति:। this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्ति: and जूति: consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in साति: the भा of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सुहस्रप्रधानेषु च। वृषवृषाभिरुत्तिभिः ॥ (Rîg. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्भावेः क्लिङ्गिणे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प् that we add a त् by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनियदनिपतमनविद्वुञ्जशीङ्भृजिङ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-नियद-निपत-मन-विद-वुञ्ज-शीङ्-भृज्-इङ्, (सिन्ध्यां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजास्त्रिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ', 'bhriñ' and 'in'.

Thus समञ्ज्या 'an assembly'; निषया 'a small bed or couch'; निषरया 'slippery ground'; मन्त्रा 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. 1. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एवत् to the exclusion of क्यप्।

संज्ञायां पुंसि इदृश्या न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति नैन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāsikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नतु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus कृत्वा, कृत्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form कृत् by III. 1. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो दागभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्वाङ्गयादादयानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ जागर्तेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इप् + श = इच्छ + भ = इच्छा. The क्त्वा ordained by III 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्वा 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; शृगला 'hunting'; भट्टाट्ट 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्वा 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix भ, the latter by श which brings in वक् (III. 1. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (चित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix भ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + सन् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add भ. Thus चिकीर्ष् + भ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष. Then we add टाप् by IV. 1. 4, and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; क्षोभ्या 'much cutting'; कण्ड्या 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as भः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (चित्रयां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुणान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; वहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

बिद्धिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (चित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिकीर्षो निहादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृष् has an indicative ष्, the real root being जृः । From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhiddi* class we have भिद्वा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भिन्ति. So also क्षिद्वा 'cutting'; क्षिन्ति: 'cutting'; आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; भार्ति: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृति: । The list of *Bhiddi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupāṭha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिरा, छिरा, विरा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्योषधोः), अद्वा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, जेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, वृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (कृपेःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. I. 1).

आतञ्जोपसर्गं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तरोपसर्गवृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रहा, प्रधा, उपहा, उपधा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अद्वा 'faith' अन्तर्द्वा (I. 4. 59).

वयासन्नन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सि-आस-अन्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसअन्य इत्यंताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिवन्तिविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्येरनिष्ठार्थस्य युज्वक्त्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix भ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + युच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्यना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वासत्तु rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अत्रियाम् in III 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102): That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavāda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत् ।

The root अन्य taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्य of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix णिच् ।

Vart.—The verbs चह् 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus चहना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb चह् here belongs to the Tudādi class, and means 'to move' and not चह् of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being णिजन्त ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after इप् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अन्वेषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेष्टव्य 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when इप् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां बहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायान्, बहुलम्, बहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुलं ण्यत्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशे ण्यत्प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इच्छित्पौ धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीस्कारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राक्षिः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्पर्यायः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इमजादिभ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कुप्पादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word भाष्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्चिः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, भाशिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and शित् (that is शप् and शित्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root श्रि and च्छु exhibited as अच्यतिः and च्यतिः. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार् is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also भकारः 'the letter भ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'.

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेक् ।

Vart.—The affix छ् comes after the word मत्स्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final भ; as मत्स्वर्थीयः ।

Vart.—The affix इम् comes after the verbs भज् &c; as भाजिः, भातिः, भादिः ।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बहुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्बुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आभ्युषखादिका; आचोषखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; लालभञ्जिका ।

विभाषाख्यानपरिमृश्ययोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिमृश्ययोः, इञ्, च, (बहुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमृशे आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिमृश means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिमृश may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *ākhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वुच् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां स्वं कारिमकार्षीः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वं कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कुर्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, भकार्षीः A.—सर्वं कारिकां or कुर्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां भकार्षम्. Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) भजीगणः A.—सर्वगणि &c. भजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and इतिः ।

पर्यायाहर्होत्पत्तिषु ऋचुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋच-उत्-पत्तिषु, ऋचुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्हेषु धातोर्ण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽप्रासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिषुभक्तिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्तिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिका 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिका 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्तिका मे उत्पत्तिः ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by ण्वुच् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञ्युपपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus भ्रूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तस्याकरणिरवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe भक्तुतिस्तस्य कटस्थ 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe वृत्तिस्ते वृषण भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O sinner' ।

कृत्यलुटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, लुटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kṛitya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraṇa* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *kṛit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् द्वियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शयितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मेणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मेणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्श्यमानस्य कर्तुः शरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a निश्चय or invariable compound, i. e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a निश्चय compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पयः पानं सुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; भोजनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूलिकाया उदयानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडरयोपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिष्वङ्गनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातौल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus हथप्रभञ्जनः 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशाशतनः 'palāsa-cutter'; गोदोहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंलिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेयबोधोर्धोतोषः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus हन्तच्छ्वः 'the lip'. छाहि 'to cover' + च(VI. 4. 96) = छाह lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also दन्तच्छ्वः 'a breast plate'; चटः। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ + कृ + च = आकरः 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, आलयः 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe प्रहरणी रुण्डः 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory च is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छाहि, when च is added, the long आ is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापखनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपख-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा यमल्यवान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवार्थे ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpapa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix च with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavāda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix चम् is added. Thus गोचरः 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचरः 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वहः 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रजः 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यजः 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the भञ् of वञ् (वि+भञ्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र उपपदे तरतेस्त्रणातेष धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stri' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛddhi of ऋ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatlāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राच is understood here also; so that these words *avatlāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलञ्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धारतोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाञ्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा वचन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'samhāra', 'ādhāra' and 'āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix चम् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+चम्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी-न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्-यु-उयावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सन्-ह-संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धु-आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि-आवाहः=आवहन्ति भस्तिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अञ्च+चम्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix चम् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलौदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोऽञ्चनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उत्+अञ्च+ञ्चुट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदञ्च? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by चम्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of चम्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्तद्वति ॥

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+चम्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो वृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

खनी च च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, च, च, (करसाधिकरणे, चम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्ज्ञातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धःप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् चम् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डी वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डी वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ख । Thus आखानः or आखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus आखन् + ड = आखडः 'a spade'. The indicator ड् showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix डर also comes in the same sense; as आखडरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as आखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as आखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कच्छ-अकच्छ-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and इष्ट has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c. ? See कृच्छ्रेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light' ? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory ; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुन् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुन् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मलोप्य भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कट्-कर्मलोः, च, भू-कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुःसुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्बयासंख्य कर्तरि कर्मणि औपपदे चकारादीपरादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्चयर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदादय भव 'being enriched easily'; दुरादय भवन् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वादयकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चिच् (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वादेन भूयते or भावेन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्रा-
कृच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषदादिपुपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'ā', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-
कर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus इषत्पानः सीनो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. इषत्पानो गोर्भक्ता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्गानः, सुगानः &c.

ऊन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषुपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विपद्ये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Ohhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debar the affix खल्. Thus सूपसदनोऽग्निः । सूपसदनमस्तरिज्ञम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्छन्दसि विपद्ये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासिबुधिशिष्यमृषिभ्यो युञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुवेह नाम कृणोद् ब्रह्मणे गाँ ; so also सुवेद् नाम कृणोद् ब्रह्मणे गाँ ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs साव्, युध्, इग्, धृप्, and नृप्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्गन्तः, दुर्दर्शयः and दुर्दर्शयः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीपे भूते ऽविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्वातोर्वर्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix स्वङ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix स्वङ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words चातुर्वच्यैः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणादय बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोति 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अद्यमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अवमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽस्मागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and बज् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and बज्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, भज्जकरिष्युः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)' ? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As पठद् भगच्छत् गङ्गजिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; वषेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लृट्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus ज्ञायाद्यद्येदमस्मि or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते द्वाकारणमध्यगीष्महि, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लृट् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लृट् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदगतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमध्वेद्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, भाग्य, स्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, कृद् and लृट् । By specifying लृट् we mean that लृट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—चः क्षिप्रमध्वेद्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगतश्चेद्, आशंसे वुक्तोऽधीयीष्य 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीष्य 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये वुक्तोऽधीयीष्य, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियापबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and सामीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus वावङ्जीवं भृशमन्नमदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भृशमन्नं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. वावङ्जीवं पुनोऽप्यापिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or वावङ्जीवमप्यापयिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus वेद्यं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधित or सोमेनावष्ट or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. वेद्यममावास्याग्नामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधस्यते or सोमेन यक्ष्यते, or स गां दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus बोधनमध्यागत्य आपाटलिपुत्रात्तत्र यद्वरं कौशाम्बास्तनोदनं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तून्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe बोधनमध्यागत्य आपाटलिपुत्रात् तत्र यद्वरं कौशाम्बास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्यैमहि 'on [this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe बोधनमध्यागिरवधिक

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यद्वरं कौशाम्बास्तनोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयं चागन्तव्य भाषास्तिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्बास्तनोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राख्यानम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे,
च, न-अहः-रात्राख्यानम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवसरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्यवरसिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न वेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं चैवत्सर आगामी तत्र यद्वरमाप्तव्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तन्नोदनं भोक्त्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं चत्सरोऽतीतस्तस्य यद्वरमाप्तव्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; तन्नोदनमभुञ्ज्यामहि 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यद्वरमाप्तव्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे—तन्नोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे तत्र सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here Lu¹, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भ-
विष्यति, सूर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राद्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्वाहविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽन्यतनवत्
प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चोदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made
with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus चोऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाप्तमाह्वयस्तत्र युक्ता भविष्यामहे or भविष्यामहे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of भवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-
निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्गित्येवमादिकं लिङ्गो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले
लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सस्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lrīṅ'
the affix 'Lrīṅ' is employed in the Future tense when the
non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिर्भविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चोद्यास्वन्न शक्यं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वास्वन् न शक्यं

पक्षाभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोक्ष्यत भवान् यत्नेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पक्षौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्तो क्रियातिपक्षौ सत्त्वान् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—इदो मया भवत्पुत्रोऽन्तर्धायं चक्ष्मणाः अररथ द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन इदोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्ष्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्वेन पथा स गतः 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन इदोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्ष्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थबोलीकृति बहुवचि प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्बहिर् कर्त्तव्यमिच्छामः, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Lṛiṅ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3. 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with इत्त and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्वीः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लङ्, अपिजात्वीः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायां अपिजात्वीरूपपदयोर्धातोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लङ् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्वाप्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां व्रजसि 'Fiel you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लङ् ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लङ् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयित्वा, भवाजयत् or याजयिष्यत्कार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलम् भवाजयिष्यन् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मेन् भरवमिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किन्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायां, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लङ्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कस्तरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?'

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (अङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो वं तत्र भवानवाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवङ्गुप्ति-अ-
मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवङ्गुप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवङ्गुप्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of ययासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न अङ्क्षे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं वाजयेत् or वाजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलम् भवानयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्,
(अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोः, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपदेषु अनवङ्गुप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word कि and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिट्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तन्न भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न अक्षधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra ? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न अक्षधे न मर्षये वा किंकिल स्वं शूद्राणाम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवकृ-
पत्यमर्षयोः, वीताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदि शब्देतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृपत्यमर्षयोर्गन्धमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्पत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्बिधाने यदाययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jâtu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तन्न भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, or ब्रह्मण तन्न भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, न अक्षधे, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् नावकल्पयामि न मर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्विष्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिः शब्दस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तव रति रभवित्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus' ?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृपत्यनर्चयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृपत्यनर्चयोर्गन्धमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा स्वमेवं कुर्याः न श्रद्दधे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (ज़ङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गन्धमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषजं बाजवेत् ऋद्धौ वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, भद्रो भन्वाच्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दिष्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चिन्त्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्त्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोर्गन्धमानयोश्चिन्त्रीकरणे गन्धमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चिन्त्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषजं बाजवेत् भा-
नर्चयेत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शुद्धं याजये: or अयाजयेष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शुद्धं भवाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लुङ्यदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लुट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे उपपदे चित्रीकरणे गन्वमाने धातोर्लुङ्प्रत्ययो भवति वदिशब्दश्चेन प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word वदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्ये, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, वधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अभ्येष्ट्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word वदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्ये वदि सोऽधीवीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्ये वदि स भुञ्जति 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sûtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lin' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वादन् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीवीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अयधीवीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत वंडः पतिष्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धावति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् must be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकश्चित् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकश्चित्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छामिलाप इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदने प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकश्चित्-
रूपपदे धातौ लिङ् प्रत्ययी भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कश्चित्'? Observe कश्चिज्जीवति ते माता कश्चिज्जीवति ते पिता । माराविह स्वां पृच्छामि कश्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid ! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताऽवसानशक्तिभञ्जनम्, तद्विद्वानीमलमर्थेन विद्येयते, तच्चेत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेदलमोऽप्रयोगः, क्वासौ सिद्धः, वच गम्यते चायां न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तर्हिऽद्यो संभावनोपाधिकोऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययी भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलम्. The word अलम् means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलम्, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलम् is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलम् is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्ध्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोण-पाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलम् 'competent to do'? Observe, विद्वेशस्यावी

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, जलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम, is called सम्भावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अदृष्टे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यत् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word *हेतु* means 'cause or 'condition' and *हेतुमत्* means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (*हेतु*) and *apodosis* (*हेतुमत्*), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—*इक्षिण्येन चेद्यायान शकटम् पर्याभवेत्* 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; *यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेन शकटम् पर्याभवेत्* 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (*हेतु*), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (*हेतुमत्*).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus *इक्षिण्येन चेद् यास्वति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति* 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word *विभाषा* 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of *लिङ्* could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: *हन्तीति पलायते* 'he kills, therefore he flies'; *वर्षति इति धावति* 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (*लृट्*) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुपूपपदेषु धातुलिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as *इष्*, *कम्*, *प्रार्थे* &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus *इच्छामि कामये* or *प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान्* or *भुङ्क्ता भवान्* 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: *इच्छन् करोति* 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्,
(इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषुपरेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वटि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् भातुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्जदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ् and इप् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषुपरेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीष्य इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अभीषीष्येति इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः,
विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वटि or उद्वात्; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिसम्प्रसारमन्त्राधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

विधि-निसम्प्रसार-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधायार्थेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रण means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रण means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) कटं कुरुवात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामी भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीष्य उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीष्य 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-सम्प्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्यादिष्वयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) अमुञ्च भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्यये उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्यये छन्दोऽध्यये 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कामचाराभ्यनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तकालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृतवसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; भतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कट 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्त्तु) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not *necessarily* apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रैष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्-
तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्दालोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यया प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment'),

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कटं कुर्वत (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने पूर्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाधातोर्लोड्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्वर). Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Maṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्लोड्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus भङ्गः स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or भङ्गः स्म राजन् अग्निहोत्रं जुहुषि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिपपदे धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as भवसरोऽवमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tūmun'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अर्हे कृत्यवृषञ्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हे, कृत्य-वृषः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हे कर्त्तरिवाच्ये गन्वमाने वा धातोः कृत्यवृषः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वीढ्या वाद्या or वदनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्यया वीढा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *specifically* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकामर्थयोर्निनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-मर्थयोः, निनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यभावविशिष्टे आधमर्थविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्निनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus भवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दात्री 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दात्री; निष्कं दात्री &c.

कृत्याञ्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकामवश्ययोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकामवश्ययोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु भवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्वः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्त्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौत्थयोरुपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याच्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Lin' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो वोह्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्बिशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीलिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta' lives long'.

क्लिच्-क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्लिच्-क्तौ प्रत्ययो भवतः समुदायेन चेत्यंज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4-45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्लिच् । Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देवातुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्लिच् । The च् of क्लिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्लिन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्युपपदे धातोलुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हर्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति । This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicative ङ्; and with that मा, other tenses may be used.. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mān' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत्, or कार्षीत्, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत्, or हार्षीत्, 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

—:०:—

धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति अवयाकालोक्ता अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमवाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.* they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishtoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमवाजिस्व पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishtoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् दृग् 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishṭoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः श्वो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; आविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishṭomayājī*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1 ? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मनुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमन् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमन्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च त-ध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥
क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातोर्लोदप्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वलकाराणां मपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि स्व इत्येतावद्वेशो भवतः, त-ध्वमभावितस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Lot' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Lot'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots.'

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and भवम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-स्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवाम् लुनीथः or वयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेस्येव वयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अवमजाधीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada, roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीचते, इमे अधीचते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीभ्वमधीभ्वमित्येव वयमधीष्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीषे, आवामधीषहे, ववमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in लृच् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, ह्रिवौ, वा, तच्चमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयमान क्रियावचनाद्धातोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-वादेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Loṭ' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त and भवम्. Thus आच्छ्रमन्त मन्तन्त खर्वन्त स्यान्वपिधानमतेत्येवायमदति or इमावदतः, or इमेऽदन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीचते or इमेऽधीचते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्दोऽधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्दोधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव स्वमधीषे, युवामधीयाथे, यूयमधीष्वे । छन्दोधीध्वे व्याकरणमधीध्वे, निरुक्तमधीध्वइत्येवाहमधीध्वे, आवामधीध्वहे, वयमधीमहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् जोड्विधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूनीहि लूनीहीरयेवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लूनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये जोड्विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदनं भुङ्क्त्व, सक्तूपिब, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

हृन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्, लङ्, लिटः प्रत्येका भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस

इहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लृट्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमय होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः । Here लृट् is used instead of लृट् ।

So also अथा नमार=अथ क्रियते । Here लिट् is used instead of लृट् ।

लिट्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्यान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट्थे यन् लिट्, विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतुहेतुमतोर्लिट्थे वमादिस्तन् छन्दसि विषये
ऽन्यतरस्यां लेट्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिट्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तक्षिषत्, उदधिं च्यावयाति।

उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशङ्कयोः, च,
(छन्दसि, लेट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशङ्कायां च सम्बन्धानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिहं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इहं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्क 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशौ ॥ नदमा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्ते ॥ नष्टेव त्वान्वेव वः पात्राण्यु-
च्यन्ते ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्वायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जिह्वाचरणेन
नरकपात आशङ्क्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not option-
ally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्वसेकसेनध्वैअध्वैन्कध्वैकध्वैन्शध्वैशध्वैन्तवे-
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-वसे-कसेन्-अध्वै-अध्वैन्-
कध्वै-कध्वैन्-शध्वै-शध्वैन्-तवे-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

तुमनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तन् छन्दसि विषये धातोः स्यादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and क्से ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अध्ये=अध्ये, अध्येन्, कध्ये, कध्येन्, शध्ये and शध्येन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे=तवेन् and तवेन् ॥

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and इ. The forces of क्, श् and इ have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्'. The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुम्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षो राषः । (2) सेन्—तवामेवे रयानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—अस्मे शतं शूरसे । जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्स्वे वक्ष्याव जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से—मेवे भगाव । (6) कसेन्—गर्गामिव भ्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us भ्रियसे । (7 and 8) अध्ये, अध्येन्—कर्मण्युपचारध्वे । (9) कध्ये—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्वे (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कध्येन्—भ्रियध्वे । (11 and 12) शध्ये, शध्येन्—विद्यध्वे (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह मावुवध्वे (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—धीमनिन्द्राव पातवै । (14) तवेइ—तं ते गर्भे हवामहे वशमे मासि वृत्तवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्=गतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); इर्तवे ॥

प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रये, रोहिष्यै,
अव्ययिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, कंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्ति विपद्ये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रवे हेवेभ्यो मही: (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र+वा+कै=प्रवे=प्रयातुम्। (2) अपानो-
वधीनां रोहिष्यै। रुह्+इष्यै=रोहिष्यै=रोहणाय। (3) भ+व्यप्+इष्यै=भव्यधिष्यै=भव्ययनाय।

दूशे विष्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूशे, विष्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूशे विष्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विन्धाव सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1)=इष्टुम्। विष्ये स्वा इरानि=विष्यातुम्।

शकि खमुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, खमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ धातावुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'pāmul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is भम्; the letter ण causes vṛddhi (VI. 2. 115); and क् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vṛddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus भग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्तुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभञ्+णमुल्=विभाजं=विभक्तुम्। So also अपलपं नाशक्तुवन्, instead of अपलोतुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वराव्य उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो=अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरे विजितः=विजितुम्। ईश्वरो विददः=वितर्हितुम्।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थे भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvai' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै=अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै=परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै=नावगाहितव्यम्; हिवृक्षेणः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = विहितव्यम्; शुभ्रव्यः = शुभ्रवितव्यम् ; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम् ।

The affix तवे was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. I. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिष्ठ एगप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥ .

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus: रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावचक्ष्यातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष् + एग = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेक्कञ्ज्वदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इक्-कञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz.:—'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kṛiñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थो is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—भा संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = भासनादेः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः । कम्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः । चर्—पुरा प्रवर्तितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोरग्नीध्रीये होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—भा होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—भा तमितोरादोत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—भा विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

सुपित्दोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि-त्दोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपित्दोर्दास्वीर्भावलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आदहः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जग्मुश्च आदहः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंसखयोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खयोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्धातोः तत्रा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अलं and खलु' ? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition' ? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलरोदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचा is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माहो व्यतीहारे ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माहः, व्यतीहारे, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माहो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानावुदीचांमाचार्याणां मतेन तत्राप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य आचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + ने + कृत्वा = अप + मा + ह्यप् = अप + मि + तुक् + च (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, आचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvā*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेह् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माह्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa हैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while ए remains, हैप् does assume the form हाप् and is consequently; by the prohibition अहाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घु ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अप्राप्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्त्ता ययोर्द्वौस्वयंयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधारयै वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यं व्यासय स्वपिति सम्प्रीत्य हसतिःत्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्त्वस्मिन् ब्राह्मणो गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यास्य स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये समुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ये, समुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes ktvā and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पायं पायं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दपरे धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, ktvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix ktvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus खद्यं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, खद्यमधीते ततः शीते, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have खद्यं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with खद्यं the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपरेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus भवे, मयनं, पूर्वे वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus भवे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाचस्पत्य (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and एतुल् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एतुल् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मेवयाक्रोशे कृजः खमुज् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेति, आक्रोशे, कृजः, खमुज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृजो धातोः खमुम् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamufi' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुम्, the efficient portion is भम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि खमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, खमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वयेषूपपदे कृजो एतुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or ज्वणङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a न्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a न् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्वीम् कृत्वा यवागन् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागन् भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवाग् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्वी ।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुम्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम्' । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्चि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुम् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; भस्वाद्वी स्वाद्वी कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix क्त्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाङ्ग) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुन्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवागन् भुङ्क्ते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवकथमित्यंसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-
कथन्-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कञः, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथाविषयपक्षे कुत्रो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेभवेति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृम् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवकारं, कथकारं or इत्थकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्वया कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृम् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-
सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृजः, यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपत्तयोः कृमो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, अतूया प्रतिवचने गन्धमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा त्वं ब्रूयसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृम् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः,
साकल्ये, (यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपत्ते साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्वादर्शं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः,
(यमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपत्ते विन्दतेर्जावतेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्देवं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मेच्छि, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्तृणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाणा कलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, क-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मेच्छि, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्जातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति कलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणमित्यन्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदं वृटो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतापूरं or सीतापं वृटो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्व 'of this pûr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूषिकाबिलपूरं or मूषिकाबिलं वृटो देवः । Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मेच्छि, समुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माप्पञ्चतादातोश्चेलोपेण कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लू 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्लोपं वृटो देवः or वस्त्रक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मेच्छि, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कर्षेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकाषं कषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chūrṇa' (powder), and 'rūksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कदेष्टुं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णवेष्टुं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षवेष्टुं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृज्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृज् ग्रह इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kṛi' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jīva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवमाहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उद्वेषं पिनटि = उद्वक्त्रेण पिनटि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलवेधं पिनटि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणो बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणो, बंधः, (समुल्ल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कटुबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुट्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरको बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, समुल्ल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. भट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attālikā-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (समुल्ल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः तथासंख्यन्नशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'puruṣa' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनार्थं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i. e. dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, i. e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेम्बो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोहः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रेः, समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्नुपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्त्वोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ūrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृत्तः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्गोर्ध्वोपवृत्तवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रेः, समुल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इव; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, भजनाशो नटः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम् इन्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरिद्व्येतद्व्याख्या कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः)। See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इश इशने, भस्माद्भक्षोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'danś' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samāsa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपश्च शम् भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपश्च शम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपश्च शम् or आर्द्रकोणोपश्च शम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपदंश, and 'instruments' of the verb भुञ्ज् ।

By the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix लप् (or its substitute ल्वप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल् । Thus मूलकोनोपश्च शम् भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (खमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राप्नुयेषातः, तर्पणानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातूनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus हण्डोपघातम् गाः कालवति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also हण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, हण्डताडम् or हण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् हण्डेनोपहृत्वा, गोपालको गाः कालवति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकाराद्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'piḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'kpiś' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च । Thus पाशेषपीडं जेतुं 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वोरुपपीडम् ।

So also ब्रजोपरोधम् (or ब्रजे उपरोधम् or ब्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षम् (or पाण्युपकर्षम् or पाणिनीपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति । It is Bhvādi कृष् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, चतुर्थ्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गन्धमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्ज्ञातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशमाहम् (or केशेषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्नन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तमाहम् or हस्तेषु माहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also यष्टिमाहम् 'taking a stick'; लोच्छ्रमाहम् &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाद्ये च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाद्ये, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां, चतुर्थ्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाद्ये गन्धमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्ज्ञातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाद्यम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलौत्कर्षम् (or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (चतुर्थ्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गन्धमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'hasto' is intended,

The word परीप्सा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शय्योत्थाय (or शय्याद्य उत्थाय) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्ध्रापकर्षम् पचः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. भ्राष्ट्रापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, भासनादुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix लप् (ल्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus बटिग्राहम् (or बटिं ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly क्लोष्ट्राहम् or क्लोष्टं ग्राहम् ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्लामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus ध्रुविक्षेपं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अक्षिःनिकाणम् जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्गः word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुवः means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुन् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उरिक्लिश्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, ऋमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातुर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेक्षं or उरःपेक्षं युध्यन्ते = कृत्स्नमुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःपेक्षं or शिरःप्रतिपेक्षं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, ऋमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विशयादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *vis* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निरव्य and वीप्सा in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहगेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पस्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पश् and स्कन्ध्। Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्धमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमवस्कन्धं or गेहमवस्कन्धमवस्कन्धम्)।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *ābhikṣhna* was meant; and *ābhikṣhna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.* 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्त्वा", that is not so. For क्त्वा would come by वाजसक्त्व rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विष्, पस्, पश्, and स्कन्ध् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अम् (*namul*), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतिवृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वृषोः,

क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरवति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतिद्विभिन्यां द्वितीयान्तरेषु कालवाचिषूपपदेषु एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix '*namul*' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus द्वापहारवार्त्त or द्वापहमस्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also द्वापहतर्त्त or द्वापहं तर्त्त गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्'? Because the affix एमुन् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्वापहमुपोष्य भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe **अहरत्यस्त्रेयम् गतः**; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe **बीजनमत्यस्त गाः पायवति** 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is **त्यप्** and not **णमुल्**.

नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाञ्चि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, (द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशिग्रहेष्व धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'ā-diś' and 'grah', when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus **नामादेशमाचष्टे** 'he mentions it, telling his name'. **नाममाहं नामाह्वयति** 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name)'.

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कञः क्त्वाखमुली ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कञः, क्त्वा-खमुली ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गन्धमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛi' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word **अव्ययाभिप्रेताख्यान** means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix **क्त्वा** may be replaced by **क्यप्**. Thus we have three forms **नीचैः क्त्वा**, **नीचैः क्यप्**, or **नीचैः कार**. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषज नीचैः क्त्वा, नीचैः क्यप् or नीचैः कारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as **ब्राह्मण कण्वाते गर्भिणी** in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्यैः क्त्वा, उच्येः क्यप्, or उच्येः कारमाचष्टे" (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe **उच्येः कृत्वाऽऽचष्टे वृषस्ते जातः**. Here only **क्त्वा** is added. Why have we repeated **क्त्वा** in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of **वाऽसकृत्** (III, 1. 94), **ktvā** would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samāsa* or composition, by the application of II, 2. 22. The repetition

of एमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्यक्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृशः, क्त्वा-
चमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्कृश उपपदे कृशः तत्राणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृश, तिर्यक् कृशा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away'. Here एमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच्. Other examples are: एतद्गोत्रं (V. 3. 5); भवसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्योः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,
कृ-भ्योः, (क्त्वा-चमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवत्तेष्व धातोः तत्राणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *taddhita* affix technically called तस्ति and तस्तिन् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* तत्रा and एमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृश गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारं गतः । Similarly घृततः भूय तिष्ठति or घृततः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or घृततः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृश गतः, मुखी-भूय गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः ।

नाधार्यप्रत्यये ऋयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थे, (कृन्वीः, क्त्वा-खमुली) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्यप्रत्यये शब्दे ऋयर्थवपरि कृन्वीर्भावोः क्षणमुजो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्वम्, धम् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus भनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः. Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः. So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः. So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः. With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—हिधा or द्विधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः. But not so in हिदक् कृत्वा, द्वयक् कृत्वा.

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्ये ऋयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुज् and क्षण. But that is not so. Thus the words हिदक् 'except' and द्वयक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिदक् कृत्वा, or द्वयक् कृत्वा.

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः.

The word भयर्थे in नाधार्य qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा. The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-खमुली) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णीमिभुवपरि तूष्णीमिर्भावोः क्षणमुजो भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshnim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णीमिभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णीमिभूय 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्यथातुल्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, कर्त्वा-तुमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्दपरे भवतेर्धातोरानुलोम्ये तत्राणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूव—अन्वग्भूवा or अन्वग्भावनास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूवा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषञ्जागलाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हारत्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥
शक-धृष-ञ्जा-गला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिषुपरेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धातुनामात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते—आरभते—लभते—क्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थवहण-मस्तिनैव सम्प्रत्यये अनन्तरत्वात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निनेद-वितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यत्यनभवत्यभपरादधुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेद सम्मग् ब्रह्म न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि जलाटे शोभितुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकान् भजं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परिज्ञातुं (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *paryāpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तुम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like क्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ण्वुञ्ज् and ढृच् &c, (III. I. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्त्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ पठ ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपादयन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachanīya',

'upasthāniya', 'janya', 'āplāvya' and 'āpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kṛitya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्म = जायतेऽसौ or जन्मनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आग्राह्य = आह्वतेऽसौ or आप्नाह्यनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः सामां 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्व 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मेणि च भावे चाकर्मेकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मेणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मेकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकाराः कर्मेणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मेकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicative letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गन्वते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गन्वते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यकखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क-
खलर्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः कखलर्याश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix ल्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also भाषितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix ल्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क् denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here त् is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly ल् may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदाढ्यभव भवता and स्वाढ्यभव भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya*, the *kta* and the *khalārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्तं ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्तं ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus स्नानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), स्नानं भवता (object); आसिनो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपमिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपमिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपमिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनुषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनुषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरुढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरुढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरुढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषजो देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषजो देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs शिल्प् &c. become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोप्त्री संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोप्त्री, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोप्त्री शब्दो सम्प्रदाने कारके निपादयते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix भञ् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c. and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोपः = तस्मै दातुं गो प्रन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपादयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unddi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भोम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + षुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unddi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, चरुः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संकल्पः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, लुप्तः, or लुप्तः (Un. II. 61), लुक् (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोक्तादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उक्तादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उक्तादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारको भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोक्तादयः, only the *Apādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampradāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्त = (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मेणि, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यपामात्रं च ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेवामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेवां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेवां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्तं ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The भा in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मत्तु (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तमेवामसित or पीतमेवामसित ।

लस्य ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येदवचनधिकारः, वहित कर्षमनुक्रमिष्यामी लस्येत्वेवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लृक् meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikdra* sūtra. The word लृक् is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लृप् present, लिप् perfect, लृप् first future, लृप् second future, लोप् imperative लोप् Vedic subjunctive, लृप् imperfect, लिप् potential and benedictive, लृप् aorist, लृप् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicative इ, and four have indicative ऊ ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लृक् should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिप्सृक्सिप्थस्वनिष्स्वस्तातान्भवासायान्ध्वनिह्वहिमहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-भि-सिप्-थस्-ध-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आतान्-भ-
वास्-आयान्-ध्वन्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृक् तिबास्व भादेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—
'tip', 'tas', 'jhi', 'sip', 'thas', 'tha', 'mip', 'vas', 'mas', 'ta',
'âtâm' 'jha', 'thâs', 'âthâm', 'dhvam', 'it', 'vahi', mahin.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II 4. 85, III. I. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लृक् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The व in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. I. 4); the इ in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in महिङ् for forming the *Pratydhāra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicative letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लृक् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	थ	से	भाथे	भे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ते	भाते	भन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd. "	स्	तम्	त	थास्	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	त्	ताम्	भन्	त	आताम्	भन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	वाम्	वाव	वाम	ईव	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. "	वास्	वातम्	वात	ईयास्	ईयायाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. "	वात्	वाताम्	वुस्	ईत	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	भानि	भाव	भान	ऐ	भावहे	भानहे
2nd. "	हि	तम्	त	व	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	तु	ताम्	भन्तु	ताम्	आताम्	भन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

1st. pers.	अ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	थ	अथुस्	अ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	भ	अनुस्	उस्	ए	आसे	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्वस्	तासास्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तासाहे
2nd. "	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य	तासे	तासाथे	ताध्वे
3rd. "	ता	तारो	तारस्	ता	तारो	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्	स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. "	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ	स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. "	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति	स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ् ।

1st. pers.	सम्	सव	स	सि	सवहि	समहि
2nd. "	सीस्	सतम्	स	स्थास्	सायाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	सीत्	सताम्	सुस्	स	साताम्	स

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—भाशीर्लिङ् ।

1st. pers.	वासम्	वास्व	वासा	सीव	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. "	वास्	वास्तम्	वास्त	सीष्यस्	सीवास्याम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. "	वात्	वास्ताम्	वासुस्	सीष्य	सीवास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्याम्	स्याव	स्याम	स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. "	स्यस्	स्यतम्	स्यत	स्यथास्	स्येयाम्	स्यध्वम्
3rd. "	स्यत्	स्यताम्	स्यन्	स्यथ	स्येताम्	स्यन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदानां, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ'.

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ṭ are six:—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लैट्. In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए. Thus त becomes ते, आताम् becomes आते, झ becomes ह्ये &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes घानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, बजमानः? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तिङ् ।

यासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य वस्थास्तस्य सेशब्ध आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिसे, पक्तासे, पद्वसे ।

लिटस्तभ्योरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-भ्योः, एग्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटारेणोस्तभ्योर्यथासंख्यनेष्टइरेच् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The ग् of एग् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचासे वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां खलतुसुस्थलथुसखल्वमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, खल्-अतुस्-सस्-थल्-अथुस्-अ-खल्-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटारेणानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिवादीनां एतादृशो नवादेशो भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense :

Sing.	nal (अ)	thal (य)	nal (अ)
Dual	atus (अतुः)	athus (अथुः)	va (व)
Plural	us (इः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory **ञ्** in **जञ्** and **यञ्** is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory **ए** is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus **पपाच**, **पेचतुः**, **पेचुः**, **पेचिथ** or **पपक्य**, **पेचथुः**, **पेच**, **पपाच** or **पपच**, **पेचिव** **पेचिम** ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, कलतुसुस्थलपुसखल्वमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्भानोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजादयो नव विकल्पे-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्ति	वेद or वेदि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विद्व or विद्वः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, कलतुसुस्थल, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्व लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चैव एजादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्निधौर्गेन च ब्रुव आहशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû'.

Thus **आह** 'he says'; **आहतुः** 'they two say'; **आहुः** 'they say'; **आत्थ** 'thou sayst'; **आहथुः** 'you two say'; the rest like **ब्रू** as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आत्थ or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहथुः or ब्रूयः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूय	ब्रूतः

The word **आदितः** 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word **ब्रू** in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an **अतिदेश** sūtra; as in the **लङ्** there are the affixes **ताम्, तम्, त, व** and **म**, so, also in the **लोट**. Thus **पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाव, पचाम** ।

Q —If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अङ्, आङ्, or the substitution of जुस् for झि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटारेशानामिकारस्य उकारारेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिन्वीरुत्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, भन्ति becomes भन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट् । In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (इयवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and झि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

सेह्यपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटारेशस्य सेहि इत्ययमारेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प् ।

Thus जुनीहि, पुनीहि, राधुहि, कण्णुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it कित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिहवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट्, has two forms as मीणाहि or मीणीहि; वृधुधि or वृयोधि, पि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अम्रे नयं सुपर्णराज्येऽभूस्मान्विधानिदेव वृधूनानिविहान् ।

वृ योध्वस्मड्मुहुराणमेनोभूयिष्ठान्ते नमःउक्तिम्विधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

मेनिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोकार्देशस्य मेनिर्लोटशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आमित्यन्तर्भाषो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवास्यां वानी ॥ ९० ॥ प० ॥ स-वास्यां, व-अनी, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वयासंख्यं व भम् इत्येतावदेशो भवति ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have सव, and for ववे we have ववम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषत्वादागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिच्चवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'ât' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम् । Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ये, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारदेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावेवम्, पचाम + इवम् = पचामेवम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of न and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a वृद्धिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣā, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटो ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमो भवतः पर्वोदेष ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'āṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिप् + अट् + वृ = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्त्रिषत्; similarly वृत् + आट् + सि = वृताति; च्वाववाति । See III. 1. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'āi' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्मवेते, मन्मवेये, करवेते, करवेये । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्वयेत्यनन्तरो विधिरपेक्षते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus एवे, ईशे, &c, in the following examples:—सद्याहानि शवे, अहनेव पशुनामीशे, मय्य एव वो महा गृह्यान्ते, मदेवस्वान्तेव वः पानाच्युच्यन्ते । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as वज्र क च ते मनो वृक्षम् वधसउत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्मवेते, मन्मवेये ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे अवयवमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्त्रिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as वृताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उरधि च्वाववाति । The इ of इट्, बहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं कितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, कितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कितो लकारस्य च उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicator 'n'.

The tense-affixes having indicator इ are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and जृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (कितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Pa-ramaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicator 'n'.

Thus, for सि we have स्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपाक्षीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्यमिपां तास्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-मिपाम्, तां-तं-त-आमः, (कितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किल्लकारसम्बन्धिनो चतुर्णो ययासंख्यं तामाद्य आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'ām' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicator 'n'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत्, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्तम् ।

लिङ्स्वीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, वीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां वीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'siyuṭ'.

The इ of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ङ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the य् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the इ also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेत्ताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीट्, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषुदात्तो ङिच् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मैपदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेषुविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच् ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsuṭ' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ñ'.

This debars सीयुट्; the इङ् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास् । All augments being anudatta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udatta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory इङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory इङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣhā "that the इङ् belonging to लिङ् does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory इङ् (लकाराभ्यङ्गित्यभावेऽनानां न भवति). In the Potential, the य् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस् । For the Benedictive लिङ्, the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिटः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् सस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किदाशिषि ॥

104. The augment 'yâsuṭ' comes after that 'liñ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liñ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already कित् by the last rule. कित् and कित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛddhi, but कित् is distinguished from कित् inasmuch as कित् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इच्वात्, इच्वास्ताम्, इच्वासुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्ताम् and जागर्यासुः। In the Potential, वच्वात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, वच्वात् (vocalisation). So also जागृचात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य लिङादेशस्य रन्निवयवमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The झ in other places, is replaced generally by भन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, वज्जेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदिरवयवमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, वज्जेय, कृषीय, इपीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the लिङ्, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवत्प्रहणे नानर्थक्यम्। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोस्तकारयकारयोः सुडागमौ भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment स्त्रीसुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी ; but in the case of लृट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but लृ and लृट् are the आगमी । The scope of लृट् and लृङ् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word लि is used; the इ of लि is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीः, कृषीवास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीडाः, कृषीवास्याम् । In the Potential, the लृ is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भेः, जुस्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्देशस्य भेर्जुस्भावो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars भन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पचन्तुः, वञ्चन्तुः ।

सिजस्यस्त्विदिम्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अस्यस्त्विदिम्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच् परस्व भवस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेभ्योत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having लृ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the लृट् and लृङ् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच् । The word क्तः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लृट्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अभिभवुः, अभिहवुः, अजागरुः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच् आकारान्ताच्च परस्व भेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus भवुः, भवुः, भव्युः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of लि where the verbs end in long आ । In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace लि ।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षः, अहार्षः।

लङ्: शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, (भेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तात्तत्तस्य लङ्गदेशस्य होर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ā'.

Thus भवुः, भवुः। In the alternative, we have भवान् and भवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to क्तिन् tenses, of which लृङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other क्तिन् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ्, as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus विश्वन्, जामन्, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्मै लङ्गदेशस्य होर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus भद्विषुः। But according to others, भद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्: शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वर्षति, रोर्षति, पचमानः, पचमानः। लिट् and आशीर्लिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट् शित्थ वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंज्ञनेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tiñ', and those with an indicative 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes ह्, तुम्, त्वयम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—जविता, जवितुम्, जवित्वम् । Here the augment इट् is added, because of these affixes being called *ārdhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛitti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun जू, is not called an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूयाम्, लूमिः &c. Had these affixes been *ārdhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes स् and ता in the words वृत्तस् and वृत्तता are not *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and क्तिज् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ārdhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ārdhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as वेचिय, शेकिय । Moreover by their being *ārdhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from ग्ले (ग्ल, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as *ārdhadhātuka*; similarly मग्ले from म्ले ।

लिङाशिचि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिचि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'liñ' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ārdhadhātuka* they take the augment इट्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप् &c. Thus from the root कृ 'to cut', we have in the भाशीर्लिङ्, लविषीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify', पविषीष्ट. But in the विधिलिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as कृनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

कृन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârva-dhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârva-dhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु स्वा सुवृत्तयः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धन्वन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârva-dhâtuka* affixes; as विष्णुर्विरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sârva-dhâtuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa मृ and the ङ is changed into व । Thus, वि + भृ + मृ + इरे = वि + भृ + नु + इरे (III. 1. 74) = वि + भृ + न्व् + इरे (VI. 4. 87) = विष्णुर्विरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârva-dhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्येयाम् शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârva-dhâtuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of स्या is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârva-dhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for भस् as required by II. 4. 52.

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